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ÖNGTUPQA NIQW PISISVAYU

(SALT CANYON AND THE COLORADO RIVER)

THE HOPI PEOPLE AND THE GRAND CANYON



Produced by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office

Written by
T. J. Ferguson

With a Contribution by
Gail Lotenberg

Public Version

Work Performed under the Guidance of the
Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team
The Hopi Tribe

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ÖNGTUPQA NIQW PISISVAYU
(SALT CANYON AND THE COLORADO RIVER)

THE HOPI PEOPLE AND THE GRAND CANYON

Final Ethnohistoric Report for the
Hopi Glen Canyon Environmental Studies Project

Produced by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office

Written by
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With a Contribution by
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Work Performed under the Guidance of the
Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team
The Hopi Tribe

With Editorial Assistance by
Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma, Micah Lomaomvaya, and Walter Hamana

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March 10, 1998

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Cover photograph: Hopi research team at Nankoweap in the Grand Canyon, October, 8, 1994.
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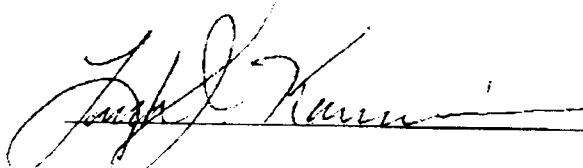
This Report is Dedicated to

Bert Puhuyestewa

Cultural Advisor from Mishongnovi Village
Who Passed Away in August, 1997

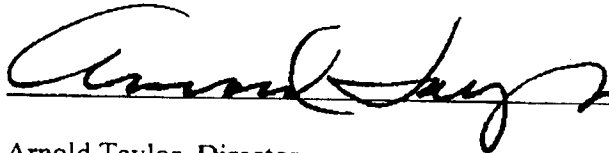
CERTIFICATION AND APPROVAL

A review of this document by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office certifies that it accurately represents Hopi ethnohistory and cultural issues related to the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies.

 12/15/97

Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma, Director
Cultural Preservation Office
The Hopi Tribe

date

 12/24/97

Arnold Taylor, Director
Department of Natural Resources
The Hopi Tribe

date

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report summarizes ethnohistoric research conducted by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office as part of the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies. The goals of research were to (1) document the cultural importance of the Grand Canyon to the Hopi people, (2) record Hopi traditional history pertaining to clans associated with the Grand Canyon, (3) identify plants and animals in the Grand Canyon with cultural importance, (4) explain Hopi beliefs and values regarding ancestral sites, and (5) present Hopi recommendations for management of the natural and cultural resources of the Glen Canyon Dam and Grand Canyon National Park.

All work was conducted under the guidance of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team. Research activities included an extensive review of library and archival sources, interviews with 72 Hopi people from 11 Hopi villages, consultation with 67 Hopi tribal members during 28 meetings of the Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, and 5 river trips with 22 Hopi cultural advisors to conduct field research in the Grand Canyon.

The report documents that *Öngtupqa* (Grand Canyon), *Pisisvayu* (the Colorado River), and *Paayu* (the Little Colorado River) are important in Hopi religion, culture, and history. There are 11 Hopi deities associated with *Öngtupqa*, including *Ma'saw*, the Caretaker of the Fourth World who instructed the Hopi to become stewards of the earth. *Öngtupqa* is associated with the Hopi place of emergence, and is where Hopi ancestors reside after death. Prayers are offered to the ancestors in *Öngtupqa* to bring life-giving rain to the Hopi Mesas. *Öönga* (Hopi Salt Mine) on the Colorado River is the destination of an important religious pilgrimage. The Hopi collect salt, pigments, herbs, and other natural resources from *Öngtupqa* for use in religious activities. At least 24 Hopi clans migrated through the Grand Canyon on their journey to the earth center at the Hopi Mesas. Many traditional narratives are set in *Öngtupqa*. Hopi guides led the first Europeans to visit the Grand Canyon in 1540, and subsequent Spanish and American explorers used the Hopi trail network in traveling through the Grand Canyon region. Field work documented 77 plants and 54 animals with Hopi names in the Grand Canyon. There are many *Hisatsinom* (ancestral) archaeological sites and Hopi traditional cultural properties in the Grand Canyon. *Öngtupqa*, *Pisisvayu*, and *Paayu* have continuing ritual significance to the Hopi people.

The Hopi people have concerns about the impact of the Glen Canyon Dam on the natural and cultural resources of the Grand Canyon. Hopi cultural advisors recommend that the Glen Canyon Dam and the Grand Canyon be managed according to Hopi principles of stewardship to protect the earth and all life. Environmental damage in the Grand Canyon affects Hopi culture by making the Hopi religion more difficult to practice. The Hopi Tribe expects to be a full partner in the adaptive management of the Grand Canyon to protect this important place.

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PREFACE

By Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma, Director
Hopi Cultural Preservation Office

The Hopi Cultural Preservation Office is pleased to make this report available to federal land managing agencies and the general public. The report incorporates five years of collaborative research with the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team and our ethnohistorical consultant, T. J. Ferguson. The Hopi Tribe was involved in all phases of the project from the design of research, through field work, to the final editing of the manuscript.

Öngtupqa (the Grand Canyon) and *Pisivayu* (the Colorado River) are vitally important cultural resources for the Hopi people. As this report explains, the Grand Canyon is associated with all aspects of Hopi history and life, from the earliest migrations of our clans through to our present cultural practices. Many prayers and offerings are made at villages on the Hopi Mesas and spiritually sent to *Öngtupqa*. Out of the Grand Canyon come the ancestors in the form of the life-giving rain needed for Hopi crops. Shrines on the rim of the Grand Canyon are visited in a pilgrimage that pays homage to *Tutskwa*, the sacred land of the Hopis.

For the Hopi people, the spiritual essence of the Grand Canyon is as awesome as the physical form of the beautiful and deeply stratified rocks that form the canyon walls. The Grand Canyon is alive with spiritual meaning and Hopi ancestors. The Hopis have a sacred pact with the deity *Ma'saw* to serve as stewards of this land. We are therefore concerned about the continuing existence of endangered species, the protection of our ancestor's graves, and many other aspects of land management. The Hopi Cultural Preservation Office is committed to a long-term perspective in environmental monitoring. Since the Hopis have been in the Grand Canyon since the beginning, we are committed to participating in an adaptive management program to protect the Grand Canyon. The Hopis are obligated to do this out of respect for their ancestors and their pact with *Ma'saw*.

Many of our cultural beliefs and customs regarding *Öngtupqa* and *Pisivayu* are private, and are not intended to be divulged to people who have not been initiated in Hopi religious societies. The intertwining of history and religion makes research about the Grand Canyon difficult. We want to share Hopi history but at the same time we are bound not to reveal esoteric information that belongs to specific clans and priesthoods. In resolving this research dilemma, we owe special thanks to the members of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, who consistently provided good advice on what information to share with the public, and how to do this in a manner that protects Hopi cultural interests. We also thank all the Hopi people who participated in this project, and who provided their valuable input. As well, the Hopi Tribal Council's is much appreciated.

We trust the reader will appreciate the many years of effort on the part of all the people who participated in the research and preparation of this report.

FOREWORD

By Kurt E. Dongoske, Tribal Archaeologist
Hopi Cultural Preservation Office

In 1990, during a scoping meeting for the Glen Canyon Dam Environmental Impact Statement, representatives from the Hopi Tribe voiced that the only acceptable alternative was removal of Glen Canyon Dam. This launched the Hopi Tribe's involvement in the process to develop the Glen Canyon Dam Environmental Impact Statement (GCDEIS). Shortly after this scoping meeting, the Hopi Tribe requested and became a full "cooperating agency" in the development of the GCDEIS.

Prior to the Hopi Tribe becoming a participant in the GCDEIS process, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was the only federal agency representing Native American interests. Due to the utmost importance of the Grand Canyon in Hopi culture, religion, and history, the Hopi Tribe expressed its concern that the Bureau of Indian Affairs could not effectively represent the Hopi Tribe's interests and requested cooperating agency status from the Bureau of Reclamation. In 1991, the Hopi Tribe became the first Native American government to be represented at the cooperating agencies table for the development of the GCDEIS, shortly followed by the Hualapai, Navajo, Paiute, and Zuni tribes. Through the active participation of the Hopi Tribe in the development and writing of the GCDEIS many Native American concerns and issues, that generally are never considered, were directly addressed in this important multi-agency, decision-making document.

Öngtupka niqw Pisisvayu by T. J. Ferguson represents the culmination of four years of integrated ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and archaeological research conducted and directed by the Hopi Tribe as part of the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies. This report, therefore, represents the scientific research that verifies the assessment of Hopi cultural resource impacts identified in the EIS. This report was also utilized by the Hopi Tribe in documenting and evaluating their traditional cultural properties to the Bureau of Reclamation as stipulated under the Programmatic Agreement for compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. The active participation of the Hopi people from all twelve villages in this research effort was instrumental in assisting the Hopi Tribe in making the appropriate decisions throughout the entire GCDEIS process.

The Bureau of Reclamation, Upper Colorado Regional Office, should be acknowledged for their wisdom and courage in providing Native American tribes a equal and central participatory role in the development of the GCDEIS document and for their support of the holistic research that produced this Hopi report on the Grand Canyon. To the best of my knowledge, this process has set an important precedent for how federal agencies incorporate Native American concerns and interests into the federal management decision-making process. I sincerely hope that this heralds a needed change in the federal land management paradigm.

I would like to acknowledge the following individuals who have played a instrumental role in the development of the GCDEIS and this Hopi report. Mr. Rick Gold, Assistant Regional Director, Upper Colorado Regional Office, Bureau of Reclamation, who throughout the entire cooperating agency process exhibited the patience of Job and the acumen of Solomon. Mr. Dave Wegner, Manager, Glen Canyon Environmental Studies, who's love and dedication to the Grand Canyon and its resources was the Hopi Tribe's greatest ally. Mr. Wayne Prokopetz, former Regional Archaeologist, Upper Colorado Region, Bureau of Reclamation, who understands that there are many

ways of knowing the past and that the values and teachings of Native Americans are an essential element in developing that knowledge.

Finally, I would like to thank the Hopi Tribe for allowing me to be their representative in the development of the GCDEIS. It has been and continues to be a very rewarding experience. I have learned an enormous amount, but most importantly I have enjoyed rewarding personal growth.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work was accomplished in collaboration with the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office. Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma, the Director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, provided the overall direction for the project, and made substantial contributions to the fieldwork and interpretation of Hopi history that forms the basis for this report. Kurt Dongoske, Hopi Tribal Archaeologist, provided editorial comments that improved the report, and over many years provided valuable guidance on how the work should be conducted. Michael Yeatts, Hopi Glen Canyon Environmental Studies Project Archaeologist, provided significant technical assistance during fieldwork and report preparation. Eric Polingyouma and Walter Hamana both made significant contributions during their tenure as research team leaders for the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office. Dr. Wendy Holliday assisted in archiving research materials at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office.

This work was only possible because of involvement of the Hopi cultural advisors who participated in every aspect of the project. These cultural advisors shared their cultural knowledge during fieldwork, assisted with the interpretation of results, and generously offered their support and friendship throughout the project. Members of the Hopi Cultural Resources Task Team who participated in the project include Leslie David, Walter Hamana, Alton Honannie, Ronald Humeyestewa, ValJean Joshevama, Eldridge Koinva, Wilton Kooyahoema, Floyd Lomakuyvaya, Frank Mofsie, Gilbert Naseyouma, Roger Naseovama, Owen Numkema, Harold Polingyumtewa, Bert Puhuyestewa, LaVern Siweumtewa, Martin Talayumtewa, Orville Talayumtewa, Willis Talayumtewa, Jim Tawyesva, Dalton Taylor, Byron Tyma, and Harlan Williams. Other Hopi cultural advisors who participated in field research include Bradley Balenquah, Orville Hongoeva, Patrick Joshevama, Wilmer Joshevama, Dennis Koyahongya, Merwin Kooyahoema, Fred Koruh, Victor Masayesva, Ben Nuvamsa, Robert Sakiestewa, Rex Talayumtewa, and Max Taylor.

The support of the Hopi Tribal Council is gratefully acknowledged. Ivan L. Sidney, Sr., Vernon Masayesva and Ferrell Secakuku, all of whom served as Tribal Chairman during the course of the project, provided important support and advice.

Janet Balsom, Christopher Coder, Helen Fairley, Lisa Leap and Lisa Whisnant of the National Park Service, and Signa Larralde of the Bureau of Reclamation, facilitated the field work undertaken during the project, and shared their perspectives on the archaeology of the Grand Canyon during several river trips. The boatmen who piloted rafts through the rapids of the Colorado River each graciously shared their intimate knowledge of the canyon with the Hopi research teams.

The fieldwork and preparation of the draft report for the project, completed in 1995, occurred as a project of the Institute of the North American West (INAW), under the executive direction of E. Richard Hart. Richard Hart set high standards for all work conducted by INAW and provided an endless source of advice and knowledge about Native American history and historiography.

The support of Dave Wegner, former Director of the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies, and Ruth Lambert, Cultural Resources Program Manager, Grand Canyon Monitoring and Research Center, made it possible to rewrite what was originally a confidential report so that it could be released to the public. During the process of rewriting the report, Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma, Micah Lomaomvaya, Eric Polingyouma, and Walter Hamana served as an editorial board providing advice on what information to remove from the report to protect and respect Hopi cultural interests.

To all these people I extend a hearty *Kwakwhay* (Thank You)!

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This report summarizes research the Institute of the NorthAmerican West conducted under contract to the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office in conjunction with the Hopi Tribe's participation in the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies (GCES). Work on the project was initiated in May of 1991 and continued through November of 1995.

The Hopi Tribe was one of 12 Cooperating Agencies which worked with the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies under the lead of the Bureau of Reclamation to prepare the *Operation of Glen Canyon Dam Final Environmental Impact Statement* (Bureau of Reclamation 1995a, 1995b). This Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) describes the purpose and need for the study, the alternatives for operation of the dam, the affected environment, and the environmental consequences. This report provides ethnographic and historical data that complement the information and position of the Hopi Tribe presented in the project EIS.

The Hopi Tribe was also a research contractor with the multi-agency Glen Canyon Environmental Studies to collect the technical information needed to prepare the *Operation of Glen Canyon Dam Final Environmental Impact Statement*. The research presented in this report constitutes part of the technical information collected by the Hopi Tribe in this capacity.

PURPOSE OF REPORT

This report was prepared to document ethnohistoric information relating to Hopi use of the Grand Canyon and to identify Hopi concerns relating to the environmental impacts of the operation of Glen Canyon Dam. Some of this information has already been used by the Hopi Tribe in its work as a Cooperating Agency during the preparation of the *Operation of Glen Canyon Dam Final Environmental Impact Statement*. The information in this report is also presented to assist the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office with decisions relating to the long-term monitoring and management of Hopi cultural resources in the Grand Canyon. Many of the Hopi cultural advisors who worked on this project did so to interpret information about Hopi use of the Grand Canyon to encourage young Hopi students to learn more about their clan affiliations to *Öngtupqa*.

THE HOPI GCES STUDY AREA

The primary focus of the Hopi GCES study area was the Colorado River between the Glen Canyon Dam and River Mile 278 (Figure 1). In this report, this area is generally referred to as the Grand Canyon. The lower reaches of the Little Colorado River were also included in the study area. In order to place Hopi beliefs and values about the Grand Canyon and Little Colorado River in an appropriate cultural context, it was sometimes necessary to collect and analyze information about the larger geographical region surrounding the study area.

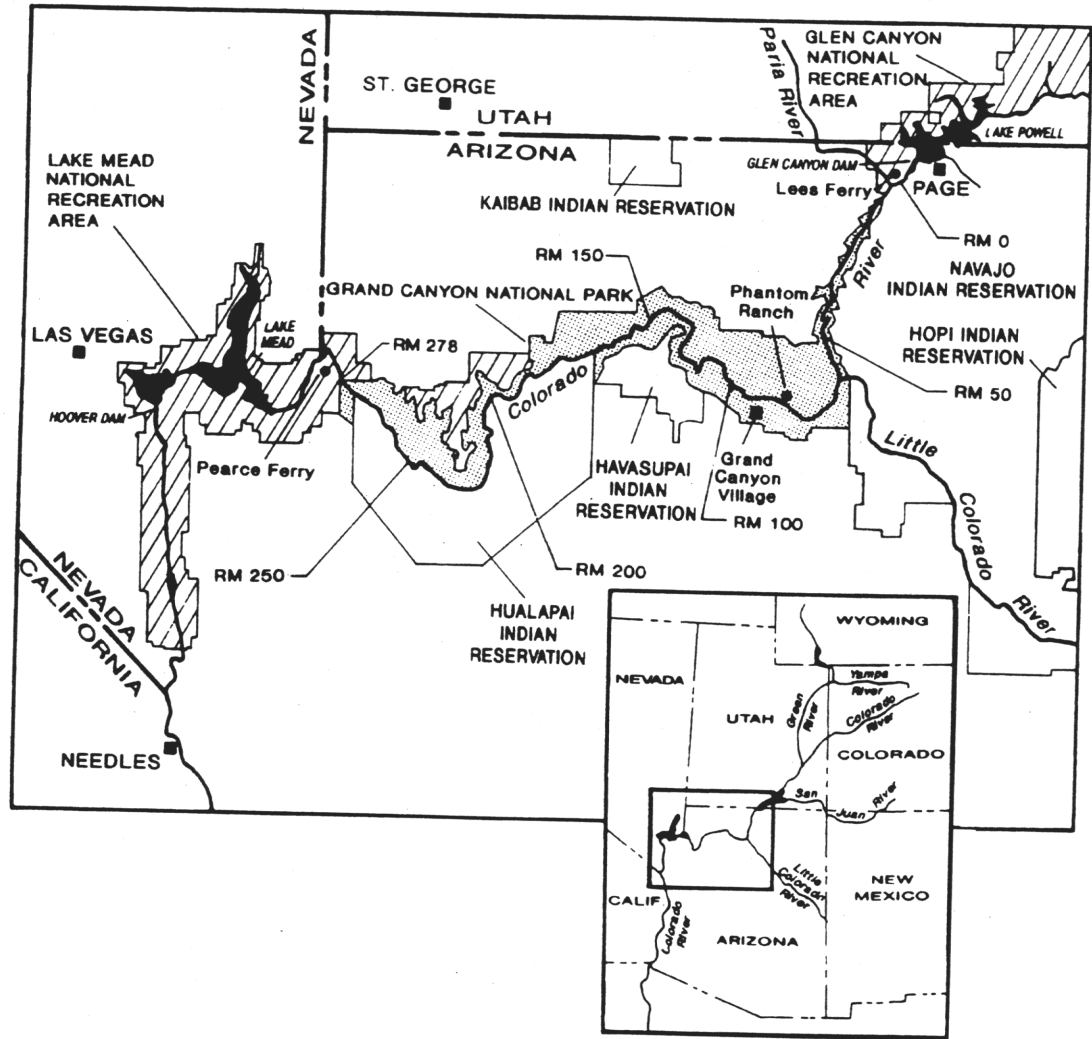


Figure 1. Hopi GCES study area. (Source: Figure 1, *Glen Canyon Dam EIS Summary*, Bureau of Reclamation 1995b:4.)

The Glen Canyon Dam, constituting the northeastern edge of the Hopi GCES study area, lies about 93 km (58 mi) to the north of the Hopi village of Moencopi and 153 km (95 mi) from Second Mesa, in the middle of the main body of the Hopi Indian Reservation. The confluence of the Colorado and Little Colorado Rivers lies about 53 km (33 mi) to the west of the Hopi village of Moencopi, and 124 km (77 mi) to the northwest of Second Mesa.

RESEARCH GOALS AND PROJECT OBJECTIVES

The goals and objectives of the ethnohistoric research undertaken for the Hopi GCES project were set by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office. These goals and objectives were formally identified in a scope of work established by the contract that authorized and funded the participation of the Institute of the North American West in the research. The overall project goal was to collect the ethnohistoric information needed by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office to fulfill its

responsibilities as a Cooperating Agency and research contractor for the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies. The specific research objectives were to:

1. Collect traditional history pertaining to the ancestry of Hopi clans originating in the Grand Canyon.
2. Document the sacred sites and ancestral clan sites in the Colorado River and Little Colorado River project area.
3. Identify clans and religious societies responsible for specific springs and religious areas.
4. Identify areas of native plant habitats with cultural importance.
5. Accompany Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team members during field visits to project areas to identify and confirm sacred features and sensitive aspects of archaeological sites.
6. Document Hopi concerns about human remains exposed by erosion or encountered during archaeological investigations.
7. Undertake library research to obtain copies of published and unpublished research materials relating to Hopi ethnohistory.
8. Prepare an extended annotated bibliography that summarizes published and unpublished research materials relating to Hopi ethnohistory.

In addition to these research objectives, the contract with the Hopi Tribe included elements that directed the Institute of the North American West to coordinate its research with and provide information to Hopi tribal employees and personnel from SWCA, Inc., who were involved with preparation of the Glen Canyon Dam Environmental Impact Statement.

DEFINITIONS OF KEY CONCEPTS

There are two key concepts used in this report that should be defined at the outset since they are integral to the intellectual framework used to structure research. These are the concepts of "ethnohistory" and "traditional cultural properties."

Ethnohistory

As used in this report, ethnohistory is a multidisciplinary investigative strategy that uses information derived from traditional history, documentary history, ethnography, and archaeology to interpret the past from a perspective that includes both Hopi and non-Indian points of view.

Traditional Cultural Properties

Traditional cultural properties are significant historical sites whose importance stems from "their association with cultural or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in the community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community" (Parker and King n.d.:1).

Traditional cultural properties are legally recognized as historic properties in the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended through 1992 (King 1993:60-65). Section 101 (d)(6)(a) states "Properties of traditional religious and cultural importance to an Indian Tribe or Native Hawaiian organization may be determined to be eligible for inclusion on the National Register" (P.L. 102-575; 16 U.S.C. 470a). Historic sites have to be at least 50 years old to be eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. Pending the issuance of regulations to implement the 1992 NHPA amendments, Bulletin 38 is used as a general guide for the assessment and treatment of traditional cultural properties.

Hopi traditional cultural properties include a wide range of ancient and more recent historic sites, including but not limited to ancestral habitations, significant buildings, petroglyph sites, plant and animal collection areas, natural landmarks, shrines, sacred sites, pilgrimage routes, and trails (Ferguson et al. 1993:30). As such, traditional cultural properties constitute places with definable boundaries. Some traditional cultural properties are not associated with artifacts, and this makes their identification by archaeologists difficult. Consultation with Native Americans is thus needed to identify traditional cultural properties and assess their cultural and historical significance. In the Grand Canyon, the trail followed during Salt Pilgrimages and the Hopi Salt Mine are examples of the types of traditional cultural properties investigated for this project (Figure 2).

A NOTE ON THE USAGE OF HISTORIC NAMES FOR THE HOPI PEOPLE

The contemporary English name for the Hopi is their name for themselves. Schroeder and Goddard (1979:550-551) and Riley (1987:181-182) review the synonymy of names applied to the Hopi in earlier historic periods. The earliest name for the Hopi documented by Europeans is Totontec, used by Fray Marcos de Niza based on information he collected from the Subaipuri Indians of Southern Arizona in 1539. In the documents from the Spanish Entrada led by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado this term was used once while Coronado was at Zuni. After Coronado's men visited the Hopi Mesas, the documents of the expedition refer to the Hopi as Tucano, Tusayán, Tuçayán, or Tuzán. Eric Polingyouma suggests that Tusayan is a corruption of *Aasngyam*, the Hopi name for the Tansy Mustard Clan which passed through Zuni before settling on Antelope Mesa. The Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado-Agustín Rodríguez Expedition of 1581-1582, which did not reach the Hopi Mesas, referred to the Hopi as the Asay or Osay, which may be another reference to the Tansy Mustard Clan (?à-sa). The Antonio de Espejo Expedition of 1582-1583 referred to the Hopi variously as Mohose, Mojose, Mohoce, and Moje. Some linguists have suggested these names may be Keresan variants of the term Moqui, which became the standard name for Hopi after Juan de Oñate established the New Mexican colony. The chief of Walpi told Harrington (1945:178) that *mó·k'i* was the original name for the Hopi. As Spanish orthography changed, Moqui became written as móki. This was adopted into English as Moki.

Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma notes that the Zuni people call a particular ritual clown Moqwe'e. When the prefix "a" is added to this word, it becomes Amoque'e, which means "happy people." Amoque'e is the term the Zunis use to refer to the Hopi people, and Hopis believe this is the source for the term Moqui. Alternately, Eric Polingyouma suggests that Moki is related to the Hopi word *moti*, referring to the "first people." Schroeder and Goddard (1979:551) point out that the pronunciation of Moki in English is close to the Hopi word *mó·ki* ("dies, is dead"), and this was offensive to the Hopi. The anthropologist Jesse Walter Fewkes led a campaign to replace the usage of Moki with Hopi, and in 1923 the Federal government stopped using the term Moki. At this time the local office of the Bureau of the Indian Affairs was renamed the Hopi Agency (Schroeder and Goddard 1979:551). According to Coues (1900:393) the Hopi's own name for themselves was

originally Hópituh-shínumuh ("peaceful people"), abbreviated to Hopituh and Hopi. John Wesley Powell and other members of his expedition used variants of this term (Shi-nu-mos; Shinemos) to refer to the Hopi during his exploration of the Colorado River in the 1870s (Powell 1972:33; Powell 1948:486).

In this report, the various names of the Hopi are used in quoted material to retain historical context. Everywhere else, the term Hopi is used.

AUTHORSHIP OF REPORT

All of the chapters in this report were written by T. J. Ferguson with the exception of Chapter 6, "Documentary History of the Hopi Use of the Grand Canyon Prior to 1880," which was written by Gail Lotenberg. In editing Chapter 6, Ferguson made minor revisions to Lotenberg's contribution, adding some additional maps and information from research conducted after Lotenberg's work on the project had concluded. A Hopi editorial board comprised of Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma, Micah Lomaomvaya, Eric Polingyouma, and Walter Hamana read and commented on the draft report, making a number of recommendations on information that should be withheld from the final version of the report released to the public. In making their recommendations, the Hopi editorial board was guided by the principle that privileged information that is the property of certain esoteric religious societies should not be released to anyone who has not been initiated in those societies.



Figure 2. Looking west along the Salt Trail towards the Hopi Salt Mines on the Colorado River.
Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, May 18, 1995.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

This chapter reviews the sources of information used in the ethnohistoric research, discusses the citation and management of privileged and confidential information, and describes the ethnographic field work undertaken during the Hopi GCES project.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION USED IN REPORT

Traditional History Interviews

The foundation for the ethnohistoric research undertaken for the Hopi GCES project was a series of traditional history interviews conducted with Hopi tribal members. In total, 72 Hopi people were interviewed in 87 separate interviews (Table 1). Several people were interviewed multiple times. A few people elected to be interviewed in a group with other members of their religious groups or villages. The age of the people interviewed ranged from 21 to 87. The median and average age of the people interviewed was 55. Sixty-four men and 8 women were interviewed.

Hopi people were interviewed from eleven villages: Walpi/Sichomovi (First Mesa), Tewa (Hano), Shungopavi, Mishongnovi, Shipaulovi, Oraibi, Hotevilla, Bacavi, Kykotsmovi, Upper Moencopi, and Lower Moencopi. The people interviewed belonged to 25 different clans (Table 2), and at least 14 religious societies (Table 3). The Hopi people interviewed for the project thus represent a broad cross-section of Hopi society.

The Hopi Cultural Preservation Office identified the people who should be interviewed for the project and made the necessary arrangements with them for interviews. Interviews were conducted by T. J. Ferguson (TJF), Eric Polingyouma (EP), Jean Ann Reznick (JAR), Gail Lotenberg (GL), Walter Hamana (WH), and Merwin Kooyahoema (MK). Some interviews were conducted in English; other interviews were conducted entirely in Hopi, using employees of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office to translate relevant portions of the interview into English. Handwritten notes were taken during all of the interviews. In addition, when the interviewee gave permission, the interviews were tape recorded. With a few exceptions, the tape recorded interviews were transcribed by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office or T. J. Ferguson. Interview notes and transcribed interviews are cited as documents in this report following scholarly conventions.

In general, interviews were guided using a schedule of questions developed in consultation between the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, the Institute of the North American West, SWCA, Inc., and Dave Wegner, Program Manager of the GCES. This schedule covered a wide range of topics, including traditional history about Hopi use of the Grand Canyon, Hopi values about the environment, Hopi concerns about impacts from the operation of Glen Canyon Dam, and Hopi attitudes about the research and management of ancestral archaeological sites. The schedule of questions was refined several times as the project progressed and research topics became more focused. For instance, a separate schedule of questions was developed to interview the Hopi who had participated in Hopi GCES river trips.

Table 1

List of People Interviewed during Hopi GCES Research

<i>Last Name</i>	<i>First Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Clan</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Interviewer</i>
Ami	Lloyd	52	15-Jul-93	Tewa	Stick-Spider	M	TJF
Chimerica	Ruby		22-Dec-93	Bacavi	Rattlesnake	F	TJF
Coochwytewa	Douglas	69	28-Jun-91	Mishongnovi	Fire	M	EP
David	Leslie	56	13-Nov-91	First Mesa	Deer	M	EP, TJF
Hamana	Walter	60	19-Jun-91	Old Oraibi	Greasewood	M	TJF
Hamana	Walter	62	16-Jul-93	Old Oraibi	Greasewood	M	TJF, MK
Honahni	Alton	68	2-Jul-91	Lower Moenkopi	Coyote	M	TJF
Honawa	Jerry	55	28-Aug-92	Hotevilla	Tobacco	M	TJF, EP, GL
Hongeva	Orville	46	28-Aug-92	Upper Moenkopi	Rattlesnake	M	TJF, EP, GL
Hongeva	Orville	46	7-Jul-93	Upper Moenkopi	Rattlesnake	M	TJF, MK
Honyaktewa	Nelson		25-Jun-91	Mishongnovi	Rattlesnake	M	EP
Humeyestewa	Ronald	44	3-Jun-94	Mishongnovi	Bear	M	TJF, WH
Jenkins	Leigh	41	26-May-92	Bacavi	Greasewood	M	TJF
Jenkins	Leigh	41	26-Aug-92	Bacavi	Greasewood	M	GL, TJF
Jenkins	Leigh	41	19-Jun-91	Bacavi	Greasewood	M	TJF, JAR, EP
Jenkins	Leigh	41	29-Jan-92	Bacavi	Greasewood	M	TJF
Jenkins	Leigh	43	10-Feb-94	Bacavi	Greasewood	M	TJF
Joshevama	Eljean	50	17-Jul-91	Old Oraibi	Corn	M	EP
Joshevama	Valjean		2-Jul-91	Shungopavi	Sun/Eagle	M	EP
Joshevama	Valjean		5-Aug-92	Shungopavi	Sun/Eagle	M	TJF, EP, GL
Kahe	Monica	21	23-Jul-93	Polacca	Deer	F	TJF
Kahe	Samuel		13-Nov-91	First Mesa	Butterfly	M	EP, TJF
Kahe	Tom		30-Sep-91	Walpi	Butterfly	M	TJF, EP
Kewaniveya	Cedric	38	15-Jul-91	Shipaulovi	Sunforehead	M	TJF, EP
Kewanvuyouma	Danny		10-Jul-91	Shungopavi	Corn	M	TJF, EP
Kewanvuyouma	Kenneth	60	10-Jul-91	Shungopavi	Corn	M	TJF, EP
Kewanvuyouma	Terrin		10-Jul-91	Shungopavi	Corn	M	TJF, EP
Koinva	Eldrige	62	10-Jul-91	Shungopavi	Bearstrap	M	TJF, EP
Kooyahoema	Merwin	32	15-Jul-91	Mishongnovi	Corn	M	TJF
Kooyahoema	Wilton	54	28-Aug-92	Hotevilla	Fire	M	TJF, EP, GL
Koruh	Harold	67	20-Jun-91	Shungopavi	Sun	M	EP, TJF
Lalo	Eric		13-Nov-91	First Mesa	Water	M	EP, TJF
Leslie	Delfred	43	13-Dec-92	Walpi	Rabbit	M	TJF
Leslie	Ebin		13-Nov-91	Walpi	Flute	M	EP, TJF
Letseoma	Robinson		30-Sep-91	Walpi	Sand	M	TJF, EP
Letseoma	Robinson		13-Nov-91	Walpi	Sand	M	EP, TJF
Lewis	Herman	83	20-Nov-91	Walpi	Kachina	M	EP
Lomakema	Milland	49	15-Jul-91	Shungopavi	Water	M	TJF, EP
Lomawaima	Patrick	44	28-Aug-91	Shungopavi	Snow	M	TJF, EP
Lomawaima	Patrick	44	28-Jan-92	Shungopavi	Snow	M	TJF, EP
Lomayestewa	Greta		1-Aug-91	Shungopavi	Bear	F	TJF, EP, JAR
Lomayestewa	Lee Wayne	33	7-Jul-93	Shungopavi	Bear	M	TJF, MK

Table 1 (continued)

Mahle	Harlen		13-Nov-91	First Mesa	Deer	M	EP, TJF
Masayesva	Vernon		28-Aug-91	Hotevilla	Coyote	M	TJF, EP
Mase	Will		25-Jun-91	Mishongnovi	Fire	M	EP
Mofsi	Frank	72	9-Jul-91	Mishongnovi	Water	M	TJF, EP
Nahsonhoya	Adam		13-Nov-91	First Mesa	Mustard	M	EP, TJF
Namoki	Ambrose	50	7-Jul-93	Shungopavi	Sun Forehead	M	TJF, MK
Naseyouma	Gilbert	58	26-Aug-92	Upper Moenkopi	Sun	M	TJF, EP, GL
Naseyouma	Gilbert	58	25-Aug-92	Upper Moenkopi	Sun	M	TJF, EP, GL
Nutongla	Nat	43	9-Jul-91	Hotevilla	Tobacco	M	TJF
Nehoitewa	Fielding	82	6-Jul-93	Kykotsmovi	Water	M	TJF, MK
Numkena, Jr.	Owen	58	3-Jun-94	Mishongnovi	Corn	M	TJF, WH
Nuamsa	Ben	45	22-Jul-93	Shungopavi	Bear	M	TJF, CRATT
Nuamsa	Lynne	33	22-Jul-93	Hotevilla	Corn	F	TJF
Nuvayaktewa	Austin	69	15-Jul-91	Shipaulovi	Sun Forehead	M	TJF, EP
Onsae	Norris	47	1-Apr-92	Shungopavi	Bearstrap	M	EP
Pawytewa	Lee	73	15-Jul-91	Shipaulovi	Sun Forehead	M	TJF, EP
Polingyouma	Eric	50	18-Jun-91	Shungopavi	Bluebird	M	TJF
Polingyumtewa	Harold	56	30-Sep-91	Hotevilla	Sand	M	TJF, EP
Polingyumtewa	Simon	84	30-Jul-91	Old Oraibi	Reed	M	EP
Poocha	Vivian	33	1-Aug-91	Shungopavi	Frog	F	JAR
Preston	Bill		13-Nov-91	First Mesa	Bamboo	M	EP, TJF
Quavema	Alonzo	60	15-Jul-91	Shipaulovi	Sun Forehead	M	TJF, EP
Sakiestewa	Robert	53	2-Jul-91	Upper Moenkopi	Rattlesnake	M	TJF, EP
Saufkie	Paul	87	15-Jul-91	Shungopavi	Snow	M	EP
Secakuku	Ferrell		25-Aug-94	Shipaulovi	Rattlesnake	M	TJF
Sekaquaptewa	Abbott	62	28-Jan-92	Hotevilla7	Eagle	M	TJF
Sekaquaptewa	Abbott	62	1-Aug-91	Hotevilla	Eagle	M	TJF, JAR
Sekaquaptewa	Abbott	62	21-Jan-92	Hotevilla	Eagle	M	TJF
Sekaquaptewa	Emory	63	14-Jan-92	Hotevilla	Eagle	M	TJF
Sekaquaptewa	Eugene		14-Nov-91	Hotevilla	Eagle	M	EP
Shupla	Karen		1-Aug-91	Hotevilla	Rattlesnake	F	TJF, EP, JAR
Silas	Anna	43	27-Jun-91	Hano	Tobacco	F	JAR
Siweumtewa	LaVern	67	9-Jul-91	Mishongnovi	Water	M	TJF, EP
Siweumtewa	LaVern	67	14-Jan-92	Mishongnovi	Water	M	EP
Susunkewa	Wayne		25-Jun-91	Mishongnovi	Rattlesnake	M	EP
Talashoma	Herschel	55	21-Jan-92	Bacavi	Badger	M	TJF, EP
Talayumtewa	Esther		1-Aug-91	Hotevilla	Bear	F	TJF, EP, JAR
Talayumtewa	Martin	65	16-Jan-92	Bacavi	Bear	M	EP
Taylor	Arnold	49	19-Jun-91	Shungopavi	Sun	M	TJF
Taylor	Dalton	65	13-Nov-91	Shungopavi	Sun	M	EP, TJF
Taylor	Dalton	66	7-Jul-93	Shungopavi	Sun	M	TJF, MK
Tewa	Dennis		1-Jul-91	Lower Moenkopi	Reed	M	EP, TJF
Williams	Harlan	50	28-Jan-92	Mishongnovi	Eagle	M	EP, TJF
Williams	Harlan	51	22-Dec-93	Mishongnovi	Eagle	M	TJF
Yowytewa	Homer	55	24-Oct-91	Shungopavi	Bear	M	EP

Table 2

**Cross Tabulation of Village and Clan Membership of People
Interviewed during Hopi GCES Research**

	<i>Wal</i>	<i>Tew</i>	<i>Shu</i>	<i>Mis</i>	<i>Shi</i>	<i>Ora</i>	<i>Hot</i>	<i>Bac</i>	<i>Kyk</i>	<i>U M</i>	<i>L M</i>	<i>Total</i>
Badger								1				1
Bamboo	1											1
Bear			4	1			1	1				7
Bluebird			1									1
Butterfly	2											2
Corn			3	3		1	1					8
Coyote							1				1	2
Deer	3											3
Eagle				1			3					4
Fire				1			1					2
Flute	1											1
Greasewood						1		1				2
Kachina	1											1
Mustard	1											1
Rabbit	1											1
Reed						1						1
Sand	1						1				1	3
Snake				2	1		1	1		2		7
Snow			2									2
Strap			2									2
Stick/Spider		1										1
Sun			4							1		5
Sun Forehead			1		4							5
Tobacco		1					2					3
Water	1		2	2					1			6
Total	12	2	19	10	5	3	11	4	1	3	2	72

First Mesa Villages: Walpi and Sichomovi (*Wal*), Tewa (*Tew*); **Second Mesa:** Shungopavi (*Shu*), Mishongnovi (*Mis*), and Shipaulovi (*Shi*); **Third Mesa:** Oraibi (*Ora*), Hotevilla (*Hot*), and Kykotsmovi (*Kyk*); **Other:** Upper Moenkopi (*U M*), Lower Moenkopi (*L M*).

Table 3

Religious Societies Represented in GCES Interviews

<i>Katsina</i>	<i>Soyalangw</i>
<i>Wuwtsimt</i>	<i>Tsuutsut</i> (Rattlesnake)
<i>Taatawkyam</i> (Singers)	<i>O'waqölt</i>
<i>Kwaakwant</i> (One Horn)	<i>Masilelent</i> (Gray Flute)
<i>Aa'alt</i> (Two Horn)	<i>Sakwalelent</i> (Blue Flute)
<i>Powamuy</i>	<i>Lakon</i>
<i>Mamzawt</i>	<i>Somaykoli</i>

During interviews the schedule of questions were used primarily as a checklist to track which GCES topics had been discussed. The schedules were rarely used as a questionnaire in the sense of structuring the order in which questions were asked. Instead, interviews were conducted using an open format in which the people being interviewed could provide information in the order most meaningful to themselves. Not all questions were asked in every interview, and additional questions not on the schedule were often asked to follow-up information provided in a particular interview.

Most interviews took between 45 minutes and an hour and a half to conduct. At the outset of an interview, the interviewer discussed the Hopi GCES project, and described how the interview data would be used in the preparation of reports authorized by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office. A notebook containing 20 photographs provided by Steven W. Carothers of SWCA, Inc., was used to illustrate the Glen Canyon Dam and resources of the Grand Canyon, and in many interviews this visual aid helped to focus the discussion of GCES issues.

CRATT Meetings

Another important source of information about the Hopi people and the Grand Canyon was the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team (CRATT). The CRATT is a formal advisory body that meets regularly to consider issues and provide advice relating to Hopi cultural preservation. The CRATT has a core membership of 15 men who represent villages from all three Hopi Mesas. Many of the members of the Hopi CRATT hold important religious positions in their communities. In addition to CRATT members, other Hopi tribal members and non-Indian professionals sometimes participate in CRATT meetings. During the course of the Hopi GCES project, Ferguson attended 28 CRATT meetings at which GCES issues were discussed and work products were reviewed (Table 4). A total of 67 Hopi tribal members participated in these CRATT meetings. Three CRATT meetings were held jointly with the Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team (Zuni CRAT) to consider issues of mutual importance. Over the course of the project, 15 non-Indian professionals participated in Hopi CRATT meetings related to the GCES project. Notes were taken by T. J. Ferguson at Hopi CRATT meetings to document ethnohistoric information relating to the Grand Canyon and Hopi GCES issues. These notes are confidential work products on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office.

Field Notes

During GCES field work and river trips sponsored by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, field notes were taken by T. J. Ferguson and Michael Yeatts, the Hopi GCES Project Archaeologist.

These field notes document research findings and concerns expressed by Hopi Tribal members. The field notes are confidential work products on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office.

Library and Archival Research

Library research was conducted at the general libraries and special collections of the University of Arizona, Arizona State University, Northern Arizona University, and the University of Washington. Additional research was conducted at the library of the Museum of Northern Arizona. Archival research was conducted at three institutions. Research of the John Boyden Collection at the Special Collections of the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, was conducted by T. J. Ferguson, Kurt Dongoske, and Leigh Jenkins. This archival collection contains historical information about Hopi land use collected during litigation of Hopi land claims (Ferguson and Dongoske 1994:13-17).

Research at the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, was conducted by Ferguson and Dongoske. At the National Anthropological Archives, the papers of John Wesley Powell, Jesse Walter Fewkes, Victor Mindeleff, Walter Hough, and other anthropologists were examined. Finally, Ferguson and Jenkins researched the H. R. Voth Collection at the Mennonite Library and Archives of Bethel College in Newton, Kansas.

SYSTEM OF SCHOLARLY CITATION USED IN REPORT

Two conventions are used for scholarly citations in this report. Published sources or archival documents available to the public are cited using the standard anthropological "in text" citation format. A "References Cited" section at the end of the report provides the full bibliographic references for these works. Confidential sources of information not available to the public are cited in footnotes. These footnotes employ a short form citation style in which a full citation is provided the first time a source is used, with subsequent citations to that same source using a shortened reference identified in the first citation. Confidential information is cited in footnotes to identify specific sources of ethnohistoric documentation so that employees of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office can examine this material in its full context in the future. The information cited in footnotes is curated at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office or the Institute of the North American West, and its use for scholarly purposes requires the permission of the Hopi Tribe.

A NOTE ON HOPI ORTHOGRAPHY

Hopi orthography is a notoriously difficult endeavor. Over the last hundred years, anthropologists and other scholars have used a diversity of linguistic conventions to spell Hopi words. Some of these orthographic conventions have entailed systematic attempts to write Hopi using international linguistic conventions. Others have been idiosyncratic attempts to render Hopi phonetics as heard by listeners with little experience with the language.

This situation is made more difficult by the fact that the Hopi language spoken on each of the three Hopi mesas has dialectal differences. Many words thus have pronunciations unique to each mesa, and this makes writing Hopi using a single orthography very difficult. No matter what orthography is used, some Hopi speakers will pronounce many words differently than how they are spelled.

[illegible]

Hopi Participants	Village or Organization	1991						1992						1993						1994						1995					
		Mar	Apr	Jun	Jul	Jul	Aug	Dec	Feb	Aug	Oct	Dec	Dec	Jul	Oct	Nov	Dec	Dec	Dec	Apr	May	May	Aug	Nov	Dec	Dec	Feb	May	May	Sep	Sep
		14	18	13	11	16	28	19	3	27	22	10	14	22	29	23	21	21	21	8	13	27	25	24	13	14	15	16	30	18	19
Harlan Williams	Mishongnovi	X	X	X		X		X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Other Participants																															
Harry Chimoni	Zuni CRAT																			X							X				
Joe Dishta	Tribal Council																			X											
Solen Latio	Zuni CRAT																			X											
Curtis Lanyate	Zuni CRAT																			X											
Pesancio Lasiloo	Lt. Governor																			X											
Alvin Nastacio	Zuni Pueblo																			X							X				
John Niiha	Zuni CRAT																			X							X				
Wilton Niiha	Zuni CRAT																			X							X				
Calvert Ondelacy	Zuni CRAT																			X							X				
Andrew Othole	ZHHPO																			X							X				
Augustine Panteah	Tribal Council																			X							X				
Perry Tsadiasi	Zuni CRAT																			X							X				
Steve Albert	Pueblo of Zuni																			X						X					
Roger Anyon	ZHHPO																			X						X					
Ian Balkom	NPS																														
Jane Brenner	HCPO	X																													
Steve Carothers	SWCA		X			X		X	X	X																					
Joelle Clark	HCPO		X												X																
Chris Coder	NPS																									X					
Kurt Dongoske	HCPO	X	X			X		X	X	X	X	X	X				X			X						X				X	X
T. J. Ferguson	INAW	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X					X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Richard Hart	INAW																														
Lisa Leap	NPS																									X					
Gail Lotenberg	INAW									X																					
Jean Ann Mercer	SWCA		X			X		X	X	X	X	X	X																		
Dave Wegner	GCES	X					X		X	X	X	X	X				X														
Mike Yeatts	HCPO	X	X			X		X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X			X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X

In this report, Hopi words used in quotations are rendered as they were in the original with no attempt to standardize their orthography. Elsewhere in the text, advice from Hopi cultural advisors and the staff of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office was followed about how to best spell Hopi words. Additional reference was made to the *Hopi Dictionary* (Seaman 1985). Any Hopi words spelled correctly are due to the advice of the Hopis who worked on the project. The primary author retains the sole responsibility for the orthography used to write all other Hopi words.

ROLE OF HOPI CULTURAL RESOURCES ADVISORY TASK TEAM

In addition to serving as a source of information about the Grand Canyon, the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team also approved the design and implementation of all aspects of the research. Oral reports on the progress of the research were made periodically at Hopi CRATT meetings, and throughout the project CRATT members provided oversight and peer review of the research (Figure 3). The guidance and advice of the Hopi CRATT was instrumental in the successful completion of the ethnohistoric research undertaken for the Hopi GCES project.



Figure 3. Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team discussing GCES issues. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, December 19, 1991.

MANAGEMENT OF PRIVILEGED AND CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION

The management of privileged and confidential information is of matter of great concern to the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office. Procedures were therefore implemented during the project to manage esoteric information and control its dissemination both within and outside of the Hopi Tribe. Within Hopi society, the average tribal member does not have an unrestricted right to all types of cultural knowledge (Whiteley 1988:xv-xvi). Ritual knowledge, in particular, is entrusted to relatively

few individuals who are initiated into certain religious orders. It is inappropriate for this ritual knowledge to be shared with other Hopi people, and its expropriation by non-Indians troubles many Hopi people. In this regard, Ferrell Secakuku pointed out that it is sacrilegious to publish esoteric information, and when this is done this information is often misused by non-Hopi for ends other than the reason the knowledge was given to The Hopi.¹

When Hopi become involved with nontraditional activities such as litigation or cultural resources management to preserve something traditional, such as sacred sites, they engage in a type of "compartmentalization" (Loftin 1991:84-86). This is a process of whereby the Hopi deal with the dominant society while at the same time preserving Hopi traditions, even if some of the values and beliefs governing the two separate activities are contradictory. As Loftin (1991:91) observes "To be a Hopi today requires certain actions that were not necessary even a century ago. The purpose of many of those activities, however, is to come to terms with a dominant society so that the Hopi can continue to live many of their religious values." Compartmentalization is a pragmatic means to an end but it is also an emotionally trying undertaking for the Hopi engaged in it.

Projects like the GCES create a dilemma for the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office in that if information about sacred sites and traditional cultural properties is not divulged then these cultural resources cannot be protected. At the same time, the very act of divulging information about Hopi religion or sacred sites in ethnographic reports is detrimental to Hopi culture. The Hopi Tribe therefore works on a "need to know" basis, i.e., information is released to non-Hopi agencies only when the Hopi Tribe agrees that there is a well-defined management need for those agencies to have that information and steps will be taken to safeguard its confidentiality. In making decisions about the release of culturally sensitive information, the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office relies upon guidance from the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team.

To a certain degree, the very process of interviewing and conducting field research is contradictory to Hopi values. Hopi is a non-inquiring society.² The Hopi don't ask about the traditions of other clans or the activities of religious groups they don't belong to. Everyone is afforded a great deal of privacy in their clan traditions and religious doings. The Hopis assisting in GCES research, however, found themselves subjected to innumerable questions designed to elicit information they would normally not divulge. Therefore, the Hopi participating in field research, traditional history interviews, and CRATT meetings were instructed that they did not have to answer questions they felt impinged on their religious privacy or provide information they did not think was needed for the purposes at hand. Many Hopis invoked this right. For instance, Frank Mofsie said in one meeting, "You learn about the Grand Canyon during protected ceremonies and this information cannot be shared."³ Similarly, Arnold Taylor said that he could not elaborate on Tribal Initiation

¹ Ferrell Secakuku, in T. J. Ferguson, Notes Taken during the Meeting of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, August 26, 1992, p. 9. Ms. on file at the Institute of the NorthAmerican West, Tucson, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT meeting, August 26, 1992.]

² Leigh Jenkins, in Field Notes of T. J. Ferguson, Hopi Research in the Grand Canyon, October 5 to October 11, 1994, pp. 12-13. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. (Hereinafter referred to as Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip.)

³ Frank Mofsie, in Notes of T. J. Ferguson Taken During the Meeting of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, June 13, 1991, Hopi Civic Center. Ms. on file at Institute of the NorthAmerican West, Tucson, Arizona.

rites relating to the *Sipapuni*.⁴ And when Milland Lomakema was asked about the *Sipapuni*, he replied, "There is a very important significance which I won't go into."⁵ At any point, the Hopi interviewees could ask the project ethnographer to turn off the tape recorder or put away the field notebook and not record particular information.

The right of individual Hopi to withhold information was only one of several checks and balances used in structuring the research process. Another safeguard came at the point that information was translated from Hopi into English. The non-Indians conducting interviews did not understand the Hopi language, so people being interviewed were free to discuss issues with Hopi research assistants to decide what information was really needed for the project, and only translate a portion of what was said.⁶ Some interviews were conducted entirely in Hopi, and esoteric information was filtered out of the English transcription prepared by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office. At times, this was a difficult process for the people working on the project. As one Hopi transcriber said, "I have learned things I shouldn't have .. the way they are talking on those tapes, no one talks to you like that about the Canyon ... Its not a woman's place to have that kind of knowledge."⁷ All transcribed interviews were reviewed by the Director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office to insure that privileged information was managed correctly.

To control the dissemination of information within the Hopi Tribe, the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office has placed GCES interview tapes, transcribed interviews, and computer files in locked file cabinets. The computer files are kept on floppy disks rather than hard drives so they will not be inadvertently accessed by unauthorized people. The use of these research materials has to be approved by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office.

Many Hopis think it is important to document information about the Grand Canyon, but at the same time they are concerned that this information will be misused if it is indiscriminately disseminated to non-Indians. Milland Lomakema, for instance, thinks the Hopi people should inventory sacred sites and collect data needed to identify and protect them in order to prevent cultural loss.⁸ At the same time, he expressed his concerns about sharing information, stating,⁹

⁴ Transcript of interview of Arnold Taylor conducted by T. J. Ferguson, Eric Polingyouma, and Jean Ann Reznick on June 19, 1991, at the Honani Tribal Building, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 11. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991.]

⁵ Transcript of interview of Milland Lomakema on July 8, 1993, conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Eric Polingyouma at the Hopi Arts and Crafts Guild, Second Mesa, Arizona, p. 14. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. (Hereinafter referred to as Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1993.)

⁶ Eric Polingyouma, in Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, 1991, Transcript of Portion of Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team Meeting, July 17, 1991, Museum of Northern Arizona. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. (Hereinafter referred to as Transcript, CRATT Meeting, July 17, 1991.)

⁷ Transcript of interview with Vivian Poocha on August 1, 1991, conducted by Jean Ann Reznick at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 2. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.

⁸ Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1993, pp. 12-14.

... in the Grand Canyon there's a lot of other areas that I rather hesitate to tell you about, the places that is very important to Hopi people. And the most obvious and common places are salt mine and ... the Sipapuni. Now that it's exposed ... people begin to ask about where the Sipapuni is. That's the very reason why I think we shouldn't be exposing too many of these sacred places because once it's exposed, printed, and also taken in by ... non-Indians, maybe college professors, maybe investigators telling me that they will not do any more than just talk about it and get the information, [they] turn around and do exactly the opposite and that's when you get all the people begin to look for these places that we identify.

To address the concerns expressed by Milland Lomakema and other Hopi, all decisions about what information should remain confidential were left up to the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office in consultation with the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team. This included decisions about how to disseminate this report.

The review process to insure appropriate management of confidential information was also instructive in helping to make sure the information presented in the report adequately reflects Hopi beliefs and values. During the research, Abbott Sekaquaptewa observed that interpretation between Hopi and English is very difficult.¹⁰ Hopi men initiated into religious societies sometimes speak in such a way that their meaning is not clear to other people who have not been entrusted with esoteric knowledge. Translation from religious to secular language is thus hard, and its interpretation even more difficult. As Eugene Sekaquaptewa put it, "A lot of Hopi questions are very conceptual. They can say one word and mean a whole bunch of things."¹¹ The periodic meetings with the Hopi CRATT to discuss GCES issues were helpful in clarifying Hopi beliefs and values, and the review of this report by the CRATT was an important step in the completion of the research.

DESCRIPTION OF FIELD WORK

In order to protect locational information, the provenience of locations where Hopi cultural advisors conducted field work are only identified by the river reaches defined in Fairley et al. 1994:15-20), and summarized in Table 5. The precise river miles of these locations as calculated using Belknap's *Grand Canyon River Guide* (Belknap and Evans 1989) are on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office.¹²

During the project, 8 sessions of field work were conducted to collect ethnohistoric information. The dates, research objectives, and Hopi participants in this field work are described below. Five of the 8 sessions of field work entailed research trips down the Colorado River through Grand Canyon, during which a total of 99 different locations were inspected (Table 6). Additional

⁹ Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1993, , pp. 8-9.

¹⁰ Transcript, CRATT Meeting, July 17, 1991, pp. 9-10.

¹¹ Transcript, CRATT Meeting, July 17, 1991, p. 11.

¹² These locations provided in "river miles" are documented in Table 5 of the confidential draft report, *Öönga, Öngtupka, niqw Pisisvayu (Salt, Salt Canyon, and the Colorado River), the Hopi People and the Grand Canyon*, dated October 31, 1995.

field work by Michael Yeatts to conduct an archaeological survey of the Little Colorado River is described in a separate report (Yeatts 1995).

Table 5

Reaches of the Colorado River

<i>Reach</i>	<i>Reach Name</i>	<i>River Miles</i>
0	Glen Canyon	-15.5 to 0.0
1	Permian Section	0.0 to 11.3
2	Supai Gorge	11.3 to 22.6
3	Redwall Gorge	22.6 to 35.9
4	Lower Marble Canyon	35.9 to 61.5
5	Furnace Flats	61.5 to 77.4
6	Upper Granite Gorge	77.4 to 117.8
7	Aisles	117.8 to 125.5
8	Middle Granite Gorge	125.5 to 139.9
9	Muav Gorge	139.9 to 159.9
10	Lower Canyon	159.9 to 213.8
11	Lower Granite Gorge	213.8 to 235.0
12	Lake Mead	235.0 to 278.0

Table 6

Locations Inspected During Hopi GCES River Trips

<i>General Location</i>	<i>River Reach</i>	<i>Fall 1991</i>	<i>Fall 1993</i>	<i>Spring 1994</i>	<i>Fall 1994</i>	<i>Spring 1995</i>
Lees Ferry	1	X	X	X	X	X
Mormon Inscription	1		X			
lunch, river left	1	X				
lunch, river left	1				X	
lunch, river right	1		X			X
Jackass Canyon	1				X	
river right	1			X		
Soap Creek	1		X	X	X	X
Supai Man	2	X	X	X	X	X
lunch, river right	2			X		
Canyon in Supai Gorge Reach	2		X		X	X
North Canyon	2		X		X	
river left	3		X	X		
Fence Fault	3					X
South Canyon	3	X	X	X	X	X
Stantons Cave	3		X			
Vasey's Paradise	3	X	X	X	X	X
Redwall Cavern	3	X	X	X	X	
Little Redwall	3			X		
river left	3		X			
Marble Canyon Dam Site	4			X		
Buck Farm Canyon	4			X	X	
Ancient Bridge	4	X		X	X	X
Eminence Break	4		X			X
Saddle Canyon	4	X				X
Little Nankoweap Canyon	4		X			X
Nankoweap	4	X	X	X	X	X
camp, river right	4			X		X
Mouth of Little Colorado River	5	X	X	X		X
Beamer's Cabin	n/a	X			X	
Powell Canyon Cave	n/a	X	X	X	X	
Sipapuni	n/a		X	X	X	
Mouth of Salt Trail Canyon	n/a				X	
Chuar Butte, river right	5				X	
river left	5				X	X
Hopi Salt Mine	5	X	X	X	X	X
Palisades Creek	5					X
Palisades Creek	5		X	X		
Comanche Creek (Tanner Trail)	5			X		X
Camp, river right	5				X	
Tanner Rapid	5		X	X		

Cardenas Creek	5		X		X	
Furnace Flats	5		X	X	X	
camp, river right	5			X		X
river right	5			X		
Unkar Delta	5		X	X	X	
river left	5			X	X	X
Hance Rapid	5		X		X	X
camp, river left	6	X				
Cremation Fault	6		X	X	X	
Bright Angel Canyon	6	X	X	X	X	X
lunch, river left	6					X
Pipe Creek, hike out/hike in	6		X	X	X	
Trinity Creek	6					X
camp, river left	6			X		
Crystal Rapid	6			X		X
Bass Canyon	6	X		X		
Hotauta Canyon	6					X
Shinamu Creek	6	X		X		
110 Mile Rapid	6					X
Elves Chasm	6			X		
Blacktail Canyon	7			X		
river left	7			X		
river left	7			X		
river left	7			X		
Fossil Canyon	7	X		X		
128 Mile Creek	8	X				
river left	8					
Galloway Canyon	8					X
Stone Creek	8			X		X
camp, river left	8					X
Deer Creek	8	X		X		X
camp, river left	8			X		
Panchos	8			X		
camp, river left	9	X				
Matkatamibi Canyon	9			X		
lunch, river right	9					X
Havas Creek	9			X		X
"The Ledges" camp, river right	9			X		
National Canyon	10			X		
Cove Canyon	10			X		X
Red Slide	10			X		
camp, river left	10			X		
Lava Falls	10			X		
Whitmore Wash	10	X		X		X
lunch, river left	10			X		
river right	10			X		
river right	10			X		

Hematite Mine	10	X		X		X
202 Mile Canyon	10	X		X		
river left	10			X		
AZ:G:3:4	10			X		
river right across Granite Park	10			X		
river right	10			X		
AZ:G:3:77	11			X		
camp, river right	11	X				
AZ:G:3:4	11					X
River Reach 11	11			X		
Diamond Creek, take out	11	X		X		X

Little Colorado River

On April 23, 1991, the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office conducted field work in the Little Colorado River to inspect the proposed location of a camp for GCES scientists undertaking studies of fish.

Hopi tribal members, employees or consultants participating in April 1991 field work included Jane Bremner, Steven W. Carothers, Kurt Dongoske, T. J. Ferguson, Merwin Kooyahoema, Dalton Taylor, and Michael Yeatts. In addition, the GCES Program Manager, Dave Wegner, also participated in the work.

All the participants except Dave Wegner met at the head of Salt Trail Canyon, where they inspected a short segment of the upper portion of Hopi trail that runs down Salt Trail Canyon. Dave Wegner flew from Flagstaff in a helicopter, which was then used to ferry the field crew to the Little Colorado River at the mouth of Salt Trail Canyon. Two potential sites for the GCES camp were inspected for cultural resources, and the lower segment of the Hopi trail down Salt Trail Canyon was also inspected by the participants working for the Hopi Tribe. As a result of the recommendations made by the Hopi Tribe on the basis of this field work, GCES decided the potential camp site near the mouth of Salt Trail Canyon should be avoided in order to protect Hopi cultural sites in the vicinity.

The field work in the Little Colorado River is documented in the field notes of T. J. Ferguson,¹³ and in an archaeological compliance report by Yeatts (1991).

Fall 1991 River Trip

A Hopi GCES motorized river trip was undertaken from September 11 to September 17, 1991. Hopi Cultural Preservation Office (HCPO) personnel on this trip included 3 Hopis and 4 non-Indian professionals (Table 7). Jan Balsom, Grand Canyon National Park Archaeologist, also participated in

¹³ Field Notes of T. J. Ferguson, Field Work in the Little Colorado River, April 23, 1991. Ms. on file at Institute of the North American West, Tucson, and Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmobi, Arizona. (Hereinafter referred to as Ferguson, Field Notes, April 23, 1991.)

a portion of this trip. The objectives of the trip were to acquaint HCPO personnel with the resources of the Grand Canyon, and to collect ethnohistoric data from the Hopi tribal members on the trip.

During the Fall 1991 river trip, Eric Polingyouma was flown out the Grand Canyon at Saddle Canyon (ca. River Mile 47) due to a family emergency. Leslie David and Walter Hamana left the river trip at the Little Colorado River, where a helicopter had been scheduled to meet them at Powell Canyon outside of the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park. Steve Carothers hiked out of the Grand Canyon via a route up the Little Colorado River and the Salt Trail Canyon. Jan Balsom hiked out at Phantom Ranch. The rest of the HCPO participants continued to Diamond Creek. A total of 25 locations were inspected on this trip. Lunch stops and camps are included in the quantification of inspected locations because research was conducted at virtually every stop. Information about plants was collected during many lunch stops, and a search for Hopi cultural resources was conducted every time the HCPO participants got off the rafts. Information about this river trip is documented in the field notes of T. J. Ferguson.¹⁴

Table 7

HCPO Participants in the Fall 1991 River Trip

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village/Organization</i>	<i>Clan</i>
Leslie David	56	Walpi	Flute
Walter Hamana	63	Old Oraibi	Greasewood
Eric Polingyouma	50	Shungopavi, HCPO	Bluebird
Steve Carothers	-	SWCA, Inc.	n/a
T. J. Ferguson	41	INAW	n/a
Jean Ann Reznick	-	SWCA, Inc.	n/a
Mike Yeatts	29	HCPO	n/a

Colorado River between Lees Ferry and the Glen Canyon Dam

On June 9, 1991, research was conducted to examine two prehistoric archaeological sites with petroglyphs located between Lees Ferry and the Glen Canyon Dam. Hopi participants in the research included Valjean Joshevama, Merwin Kooyahoema, Frank Mofsie, Eric Polingyouma, Harold Polingyumtewa, Martin Talayumtewa, and Byron Tyma. Non-Indian professionals employed by the HCPO included Kurt Dongoske, T. J. Ferguson, Kathy Johnson, and Michael Yeatts. The HCPO personnel were accompanied by Jan Balsom, Grand Canyon National Park Archaeologist, and

¹⁴ Field Notes of T. J. Ferguson, Hopi Grand Canyon River Trip, September 11 to 17, 1991. Ms. on file at Institute of the North American West, Tucson, and Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmobi, Arizona. (Hereinafter referred to as Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip.)

Chris Kincaid, Glen Canyon Recreational Area Archaeologist. This field work is documented in the field notes of T. J. Ferguson.¹⁵

Rainbow Bridge and Glen Canyon Dam, Glen Canyon Recreational Area

On June 10, 1991, research was conducted at Lake Powell to inspect the Rainbow Bridge National Monument and the Glen Canyon Dam. Hopi participants in the research included Valjean Joshevama, Merwin Kooyahoema, Frank Mofsie, Eric Polingyouma, Harold Polingyumtewa, Martin Talayumtewa, and Byron Tyma.

On June 10, the Hopi were accompanied by T. J. Ferguson. Chris Kincaid, the Glen Canyon Recreational Area Archaeologist, facilitated the field work in conjunction with other employees of the National Park Service (NPS). The June 1991 field work is documented in the field notes of T. J. Ferguson.¹⁶

Fall 1993 River Trip

The HCPO participated in a non-motorized river trip from September 30 to October 9, 1993. The purpose of this trip was to conduct ethnohistoric research and observe NPS monitoring activities in the Grand Canyon. The HCPO delegation for this trip comprised 7 Hopis and 2 non-Indian professionals (Table 8).

Table 8

HCPO Participants in Fall 1993 River Trip

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village/Organization</i>	<i>Clan</i>
Orville HONGEVA	47	Moencopi	Rattlesnake
Walter Hamana	63	Old Oraibi	Greasewood
Harlan Williams	50	Mishongnovi	Eagle
Leigh Jenkins	43	Bacavi	Greasewood
Brad Balenquah	52	Bacavi	Rattlesnake
Fred Koruh	18	Bacavi	Sand
Wilmer Joshevama	35	Old Oraibi	Young Corn
Mike Yeatts	31	HCPO	--
T. J. Ferguson	43	INAW	--

¹⁵ 1991k Field Notes of T. J. Ferguson, June 9, 1991, Field Work between Lees Ferry and Glen Canyon Dam. Ms. on file at Institute of the NorthAmerican West, Tucson, Arizona. (Hereinafter referred to as Ferguson, Field Notes, June 9, 1991.)

¹⁶ Field Notes of T. J. Ferguson, June 10, 1991, Field Work at Rainbow Bridge and Glen Canyon Dam. Ms. on file at Institute of the NorthAmerican West, Tucson, Arizona. (Hereinafter referred to as Ferguson, Field Notes, June 10, 1991.)

The Fall 1993 river trip was run as an adjunct to a routine NPS river trip to monitor archaeological sites, water quality, trail maintenance, and sediment erosion. NPS archaeologists on this trip included Jan Balsom, Lisa Leap, and Lisa Whisnant. The Hopi delegation left the river trip at Pipe Creek (River Mile 89) and hiked out of the Grand Canyon on the Bright Angel Trail. During this 10 day river trip, the Hopi research team inspected 28 locations in the Grand Canyon (Table 6). The Fall 1993 river trip is documented in the field notes of T. J. Ferguson¹⁷ and Michael Yeatts.¹⁸

Spring 1994 River Trip

The HCPO participated in a 15 day non-motorized river trip from April 25 to May 9, 1994 (Figure 4). Two Hopi Research Teams participated in this research trip. The first team of 5 Hopis launched on April 25 and ran the river to Pipe Creek (River Mile 89), where they hiked out of the Grand Canyon on the Bright Angel Trail (Table 9). The second research team of 6 Hopis hiked in at Pipe Creek and traveled the river to Diamond Creek, ca. River Mile 226 (Table 10). Mike Yeatts and T. J. Ferguson participated in both segments of the HCPO river trip. The purpose of the trip was to conduct ethnohistoric research and observe NPS monitoring activities. As with the Fall 1993 river trip, the Spring 1994 research was conducted as an adjunct to a regular NPS monitoring trip. The NPS archaeologists on this trip included Jan Balsom, Lisa Leap, and Lisa Whisnant. Signa Larralde, an archaeologist with the Bureau of Reclamation, also participated in the trip. A total of 65 locations in the Grand Canyon were inspected during the Spring 1994 river trip (Table 6). The Spring 1994 river trip is documented in the field notes of T. J. Ferguson¹⁹ and Michael Yeatts.²⁰

Fall 1994 River Trip

The HCPO participated in a 7 day non-motorized river trip from October 5 to October 11, 1994. Five Hopis, two anthropologists, and one non-Indian photographer comprised the Hopi research team for this research trip (Table 11). The purpose of this river trip was to collect ethnohistoric information and observe NPS monitoring activities. The NPS archaeologists on the trip were Helen Fairley and Christopher Coder. On this trip, Wilton Kooyahoema and Robert Sakiestewa were flown out of the Grand Canyon by helicopter at Phantom Ranch.

¹⁷ Field Notes of T. J. Ferguson, Hopi Research Trip through Grand Canyon, September 30 to October 9, 1993. Ms. on file at Institute of the NorthAmerican West, Tucson, and Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. (Hereinafter referred to as Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip.)

¹⁸ Michael Yeatts, Hopi 9-30 to 10-8, 1993, River Trip. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Mike Yeatts, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip.]

¹⁹ Field Notes of T. J. Ferguson, Hopi Research in the Grand Canyon, April 25 to May 9, 1994. Ms. on file at Institute of the NorthAmerican West, Tucson, and Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. (Hereinafter referred to as Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip.)

²⁰ Michael Yeatts, Hopi Grand Canyon Research Trip: April 25, 1994 to May 9, 1994. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Mike Yeatts, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip.]

Table 9

HCPO Participants in First Segment of Spring 1994 River Trip

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village/Organization</i>	<i>Clan</i>
Ronald Humeyestewa	44	Mishongnovi	Bear
Gilbert Naseyouma	60	Moencopi	Sun
Owen Numkena, Jr.	58	Mishongnovi	Corn
Rex Talayumptewa	34	Shipaulovi	Sun Forehead
Byron Tyma	62	Shungopavi	Spider-Bearstrap
Mike Yeatts	32	HCPO	--
T. J. Ferguson	44	INAW	--

Table 10

HCPO Participants in Second Segment of Spring 1994 River Trip

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village/Organization</i>	<i>Clan</i>
Brad Balenquah	52	Bacavi	Rattlesnake
Leigh Jenkins	44	Bacavi	Greasewood
Fred Koruh	18	Bacavi	Sand
Walter Hamana	63	Old Oraibi	Greasewood
Orville Hongeva	47	Moencopi	Sand
Harlan Williams	50	Mishongnovi	Eagle
Mike Yeatts	32	HCPO	--
T. J. Ferguson	44	INAW	--

Table 11

HCPO Participants in Fall 1994 River Trip

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Village/Organization</i>	<i>Clan</i>
Leigh Jenkins	44	Paaqavi	Greasewood
Wilton Kooyahoema	57	Hotevilla	Fire
Robert Sakiestewa	55	Moencopi	Rattlesnake
Victor Masayesva	43	Hotevilla	Coyote
Pat Joshevama	27	Moencopi	Sun
Mike Yeatts	33	HCPO	-
Jens Jøngen Jensen	--	photographer	-
T. J. Ferguson	44	INAW	-

During the Fall 1994 trip, the rest of the Hopi research team hiked out of the canyon at Pipe Creek (River Mile 89) using the Bright Angel Trail. A total of 29 locations were inspected during this research trip (Table 6). The Fall 1994 river trip is documented in the field notes of T. J. Ferguson²¹ and Michael Yeatts.²²

Spring 1995 River Trip

A joint Hopi-Zuni motorized river trip was conducted from May 15 to May 23, 1995 (Figure 5). The objectives of this trip were to collect ethnohistoric information, enable Hopi and Zuni cultural advisors to confer with each other in the field about management issues of mutual concern, and to consult with NPS and Bureau of Reclamation archaeologists (Figure 6). The Hopi delegation on this trip included 7 Hopis and 3 anthropologists (Table 12). The Zuni delegation included nine Zunis and one historian. Two Federal archaeologists, Jan Balsom from the NPS and Signa Larralde from the Bureau of Reclamation, also participated in the trip. During this trip, Leigh Jenkins and Ben Nuvamsa flew out of the Grand Canyon in a helicopter at Phantom Ranch. At this point, the Zuni ethnohistorian, E. Richard Hart, hiked out of the canyon. The rest of the Hopi and Zuni research teams continued down the river to Diamond Creek. A total of 40 locations were examined during this research trip. The Spring 1995 river trip is documented in the field notes of T. J. Ferguson²³ and Michael Yeatts.²⁴

WORK PRODUCTS IN ADDITION TO FINAL REPORT

In addition to this report and the field notes taken during each river trip, there are several other work products delivered to the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office that document the ethnohistoric research undertaken for the Hopi GCES project. These include a series of brief monthly progress reports filed during the course of the project, a notebook documenting Hopi resources recorded during field research in the Grand Canyon,²⁵ notebooks containing photographs taken during the river trips,²⁶ and an annotated bibliography of more than 400 published and archival reference sources (Ferguson and Lotenberg 1995).

²¹ Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip.

²² Michael Yeatts, Hopi Grand Canyon Research Trip: October 5, 1994 to October 9, 1994. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Mike Yeatts, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip.]

²³ Field Notes of T. J. Ferguson, Hopi Research in the Grand Canyon, May 15 to May 23, 1995. Ms. on file at Institute of the North American West, Tucson, and Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. (Hereinafter referred to as Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip.)

²⁴ Michael Yeatts, Hopi/Zuni Grand Canyon Research Trip: May 15, 1995 to May 23, 1995. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Mike Yeatts, Field Notes, Fall 1995 River Trip.]

²⁵ T. J. Ferguson and Michael Yeatts, Hopi Natural Resources with Cultural Significance in the Grand Canyon, Recording Forms and Color Print Photographs. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.

²⁶ T. J. Ferguson, *Öngtupka*, 1993 Hopi Research Trip in the Grand Canyon, Color Print Photographs. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.

Table 12

Participants in Spring 1995 Zuni-Hopi River Trip

Hopi Delegation:				
<i>Name</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Clan</i>	<i>Societies - Position</i>
Leigh Jenkins	Bacavi	45	Greasewood	Katsina
Micah Jenkins	Shungopavi	21	Bear	Katsina, Singer
Dennis Koyahongya	Shipaulovi	45	Bear	Katsina, Wuwtsim
Ben Nuvamsa	Shungopavi	46	Bear	Katsina, Blue Flute
Rex Talayumptewa	Shipaulovi	35	Sun Forehead	Katsina
Max Taylor	Shungopavi	37	Sun	Katsina
Harlan Williams	Mishongnovi	52	Eagle	Katsina, Two Horn
T. J. Ferguson	Tucson	45	n/a	HCPO Ethnohistorian
Mike Yeatts	Flagstaff	32	n/a	HCPO Archaeologist
John Welch	Fort Apache	33	n/a	guest archaeologist, BIA
Zuni Delegation:				
Joseph Dishta	Zuni	42	Crow/Corn	Small Group Kiva; Cult. Pres. Coordinator
Raylon Edaakie	Zuni	35	Crane	Knife Society; Head Kachina
Everett Homer	Zuni	36	Corn	Galaxy Society
John Niiha	Zuni	70	Badger	Head Katchina Leader
Wilton Niiha	Zuni	37	Parrot	Galaxy Society; Head Kachina
Calvert Ondelacy	Zuni	35	Turkey/Deer	Katchina Leader
Loren Panteah	Zuni	35	Badger	Mudhead Society
Octavius Seowtewa	Zuni	42	Corn	Galaxy Society
Perry Tsadiasi	Zuni	55	Frog	Bow Priest
Richard Hart	Seattle	49	n/a	Zuni Ethnohistorian
Other Participants:				
Jan Balsom	Grand Canyon	36	n/a	GRCA Archaeologist
Signa Larralde	Salt Lake City	44	n/a	Bureau of Reclamation

T. J. Ferguson, *Öngtupka*, Hopi Research Trip in the Grand Canyon, April 25 to May 9, 1994, Color Print Photographs. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.

T. J. Ferguson, *Öngtupka*, Hopi Research in the Grand Canyon, October 5 to 11, 1994, Color Print Photographs. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.

T. J. Ferguson, *Öngtupka*, Hopi Research in the Grand Canyon, May 15 to May 23, 1995, Color Print Photographs. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.



Figure 4. NPS employee MacKenzie Rivers rows down the Colorado River with Harlan Williams, Bradley Balenquah, and Signa Larralde. River Mile 89. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, May 2, 1994.

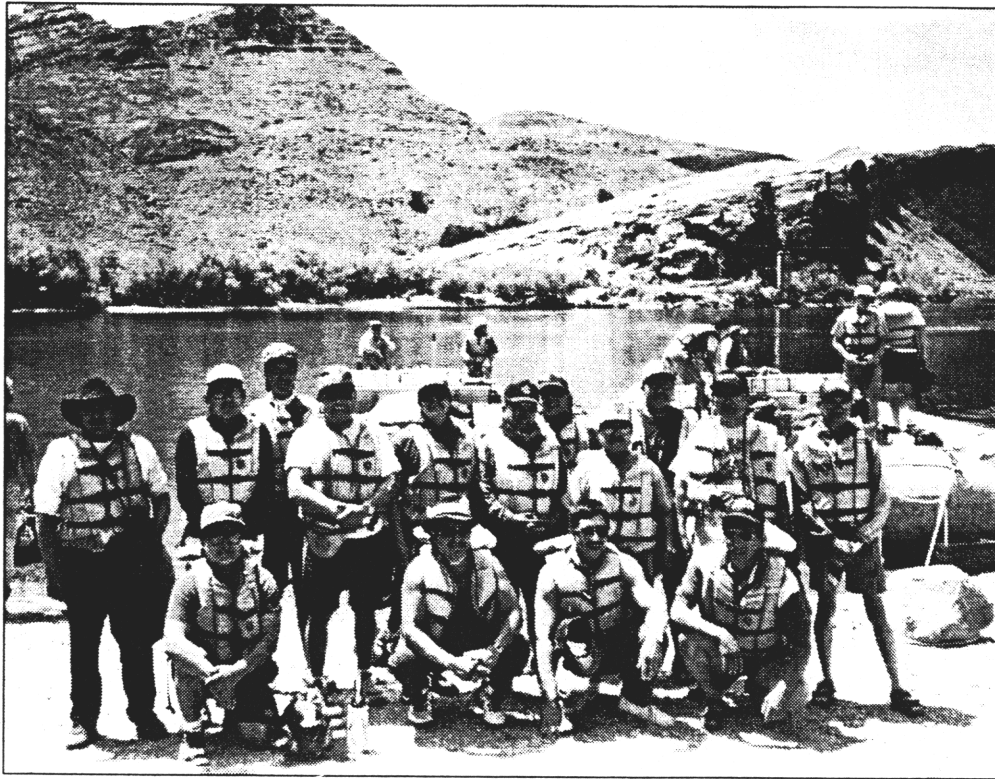


Figure 5. Hopi and Zuni Research Teams at Lees Ferry at beginning of Spring 1995 river trip.
Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, May 15, 1995.



Figure 6. Hopis consulting with Jan Balsom and Signa Larralde at Nankoweap. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, May 17, 1995.

CHAPTER 3

CULTURAL IMPORTANCE OF THE GRAND CANYON

INTRODUCTION

Hopi cultural advisors acknowledge that *wiimi*, Hopi religion or ritual knowledge, must be used to inform research that investigates the cultural importance of the Grand Canyon for the Hopi people.²⁷ *Wiimi* encompasses ceremonials and ritual objects, as well as the knowledge, songs, and traditions about them (Geertz 1994:9). The cultural importance of the Grand Canyon is also related to *navoti*, which Whiteley (1988a:255) describes as "...a system of knowledge that includes philosophy, science, and theology and incorporates conceptual models for explaining the past and predicting, or "prophesying," future events ..." Very few Hopis are privileged to have extensive knowledge of *navoti*.

The use of *wiimi* and *navoti* in research is difficult because the Hopi people do not want to share the esoteric aspects of this knowledge with non-Indians, or with other Hopi who are not initiated into the religious societies that possess and transmit ritual knowledge. Ritual knowledge is profaned by making it public, and Hopi cultural advisors consistently declined to divulge esoteric information. As one cultural advisor told a Hopi interviewer during the project, "There are many things I cannot tell you because ... things that are sacred in nature is usually kept secret within societies."²⁸ In this report, therefore, a balance is struck between explaining the cultural importance of the Grand Canyon and withholding ritual knowledge that should not be publicly disseminated.

There is a pyramid of knowledge in Hopi enculturation.²⁹ While many people share a basic level of cultural information, ritual knowledge is entrusted to a fewer number of tribal members initiated into ritual orders. In this regard, Whitely (1988a:255) described Hopi knowledge as "... as a series of concentric rings marking boundaries of secrecy between circles of knowledge ..." These carefully circumscribed and protected circles of knowledge separate common people from religious leaders with access to powerful and esoteric information. Thus, while the Grand Canyon has pan-Hopi significance (Nagata 1970:8), not all Hopi people have equal access to esoteric knowledge about how and why this place has the importance it does.

As this chapter will discuss, the Grand Canyon is essential to the "Hopi Way," an ethical code that defines the individual responsibilities of Hopi people (Thompson and Joseph 1947:41). The Hopi

²⁷ Eldrige Koinva in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT meeting, August 26, 1992, p. 4.

²⁸ Summary prepared by Eric Polingyouma of interview of LaVern Siweumtewa and Frank Mofsie on July 9, 1991, conducted by Eric Polingyouma and T. J. Ferguson at Mishongnovi, Arizona, p. 2. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Polingyouma Summary of LaVern Siweumtewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991.]

²⁹ Eric Polingyouma in Transcript of Interview of Arnold Taylor conducted by T. J. Ferguson, Eric Polingyouma and Jean Ann Reznick on June 19, 1991, at the Tribal Building, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. Ms. on file at Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 1. [Hereinafter referred to as Arnold Taylor Interview, June 19, 1991.]

Way expresses the Hopi world view at an emotional and behavioral level by providing rules for proper acting, feeling, and thinking in every role a Hopi is required to assume in the life cycle from birth to death. The Grand Canyon plays a prominent role in the Hopi life cycle because it signifies the place of emergence and it is where deceased Hopis reside in the afterlife. The Grand Canyon also has many other associations in Hopi culture and religion.

HOPI NAMES FOR THE COLORADO RIVER, LITTLE COLORADO RIVER, AND THE GRAND CANYON

The Hopi names for the Colorado River, the Little Colorado River, and the Grand Canyon reflect how the Hopi people conceptualize and respect the geography of the region. As one Hopi cultural advisor observed for place names in general, "If there's a place name, a shrine is there."³⁰

The Hopi name for the Colorado River is *Pisisvayu*.³¹ This name was first documented by anthropologists in late 19th century (Stephen 1936:1155). *Pisisvayu* may be an archaic word, and its etymology is not entirely clear. The last half of the word, "*vayu*" means river. One cultural advisor suggested *Pisisvayu* means "water flowing through two high walls," which is descriptive of the canyon setting for the Colorado River downstream of the Glen Canyon Dam.³² Another cultural advisor did not provide an English translation for *Pisisvayu* but said he understood that the word symbolizes the purity of the water in the Colorado River. *Pisisvayu* is pure, clean, unaltered water.³³

³⁰ Transcript of interview of Walter Hamana on July 16, 1993, conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Merwin Kooyahoema at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, transcribed by Noreen Kootswatewa, p. 13. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1993.]

³¹ Notes of Eric Polingyouma from interview of Patrick Lomawaima on August 29, 1991, conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Eric Polingyouma at the Torvea Guidance Center, Second Mesa, Arizona, p. 3. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991.]

Transcript of interview of Merwin Kooyahoema on July 15, 1991, conducted by T. J. Ferguson at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 10. Ms. on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991.]

Transcript of interview of Herchal Talashoma on January 21, 1992, conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Eric Polingyouma at Bacavi, Arizona, p. 29. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992.]

Notes of Eric Polingyouma from meeting with First Mesa Leaders (Ebin Leslie, Adam Nahsonhoya, Leslie David, Robinson Letseoma, Eric Lalo, Bill Preston, Harlen Mahle, and Samuel Kahe), conducted by Eric Polingyouma and T. J. Ferguson at the First Mesa Community Center, Polacca, Arizona, November 13, 1991, p. 1. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Interview with First Mesa leaders, November 13, 1991.]

³² Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1993, p. 9.

³³ Transcript of interview of Jerry Honawa on August 28, 1992, conducted by Eric Polingyouma, T. J. Ferguson, and Gail Lotenberg at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, transcribed by Theresa Lomakema, pp. 3-4. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992.]

The Director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office observed that *Pisisvayu* is an important river because of its association with the Grand Canyon and its enormous size.³⁴ The Hopi generally conceptualize water in terms of rain and clouds, so the vast amount of water in the Colorado River is "awesome." Another Hopi cultural advisor pointed out that the Colorado River (and its sister, the Little Colorado River) are "alive" because they are continually flowing.³⁵

The Hopi name for the Little Colorado River known is *Paiyu* or *Paayu*, meaning "Little Water."³⁶ *Paayu* is the sister to *Pisisvayu*. Because the *Sipapuni* is situated along *Paayu* and the Salt is part of the ecosystem of *Pisisvayu*, the confluence of the two rivers is an important ritual area for the Hopi. Another Hopi name for the Little Colorado River is *Palavayu* (Curtis 1922:185; McCreery and Malotki 1994:184). This name, first documented in the 1920s, is derived from the Hopi word *pala*, meaning red.

The Hopi use several names in referring to the Grand Canyon. Sometimes the Grand Canyon is simply referred to by the name for the river, *Pisisvayu*.³⁷ Alternately, there are a number of prefixes added to the Hopi word *tupqa*, meaning "deep canyon," that are used to describe different stretches of the Grand Canyon. The Hopi word for salt is *öönga* (Seaman 1985:77), so the stretch of the Grand Canyon in the vicinity of the Hopi Salt Mine is often referred to as *Öngtupqa* ("Salt Canyon").³⁸ While the orthography of the word *Öngtupqa* has been variously rendered, e.g., *Ön-tupka* (Curtis 1922:195), it has been consistently translated as "Salt Canyon" (Geertz 1984:222).

The anthropologist Alfred Whiting (n.d.a:22) documented that occasionally the Grand Canyon is called "wu:ko tipqa" or "big canyon." In the contemporary orthography used by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, this name is related to the Hopi words *wuukotupka* describing a wide canyon,

³⁴ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 9.

³⁵ Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 8.

³⁶ Eugene Sekaquaptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes Taken During the Meeting of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, December 19, 1991, Kykotsmovi Community Center, p. 7. Ms. on file at Institute of the NorthAmerican West, Tucson, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT meeting, December 19, 1991.]

Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, pp. 2-3, 6.

³⁷ Transcript of interview of Orville Hongeva on July 7, 1993, conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Merwin Kooyahoema at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, transcribed by Vivian Poocha, p. 2. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Orville Hongeva interview, July 7, 1993.]

³⁸ Transcript of interview of Alton Honahni on July 21, 1991, conducted by T. J. Ferguson at the Honanni Building, Moencopi, Hopi Indian Reservation, p. 28. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991.]

Transcribed Excerpts from Interview of Abbott Sekaquaptewa on January 21, 1992, conducted by T. J. Ferguson at Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 1. Ms. on file at Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, January 21, 1992.]

Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1993, pp. 9, 14.

and *wukotupqa*, describing canyon features that are enormous in scale.³⁹ Some Hopis thus refer to the confluence of the Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers as *Öngtupqa*, and the area around the Hopi Salt Mine as *Wukoönga*.⁴⁰

In discussing the pilgrimages that are made to the Grand Canyon, many Hopis do not distinguish between the canyons of the Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers, i.e., both canyons constitute the "Grand Canyon." When Hopis go down the Salt Trail into the Little Colorado River gorge, and then on to the Salt Mine in the Grand Canyon, they simply say they are going to *Öngtupqa* ("Salt Canyon").⁴¹ In this regard, several Hopi cultural advisors pointed out that most Hopis never have the privilege of visiting the Grand Canyon and their knowledge of it is based on oral traditions. Since these Hopis have never seen the confluence of the Colorado River and the Little Colorado River, many of them are under the impression that there is only one river running through *Öngtupqa*.⁴² In addition, some Hopis don't discriminate between the drainages of the two rivers that constitute *Öngtupqa* since the area encompassing the *Sipapuni* and Salt Mine is all Hopi aboriginal land traditionally used and occupied by the Hopi people.⁴³

Some Hopis with a university education who work in the tribal government, however, make a distinction between the Colorado River where it flows through the Grand Canyon and the Little Colorado River Gorge, referring to the former as the "main stem" and the latter as a tributary. However in explaining how Hopi people traditionally conceptualize the area Nat Nutongla said, "... that is the place where the Hopis have a special significance ... in that general area. So that whole area could be considered a part of the oral tradition that the Hopi people speak of."⁴⁴

The stretch of the Grand Canyon where the Havasupai people reside is referred to with a variety of terms incorporating the Hopi word for blue, *sakwa* (Seaman 1985:199). The area of the Grand Canyon near Havasu Creek is called *Sakwatupqa* or "Blue Canyon," a reference to the remarkable color of the Havasu Creek. The Hopi name for Havasu Creek is *Sakwawayu*, or "Blue

³⁹ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 9.

⁴⁰ Eric Polingyouma, personal communication, December 23, 1997.

⁴¹ Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991, p. 3.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, p. 18.

Transcript of interview of Robert Sakiestewa, Jr., on July 2, 1991, conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Eric Polingyouma at the Clifford Honahni Building, Upper Moencopi, Arizona, p. 8. Ms. on file at Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmobi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991.]

⁴² Transcript of interview of Eric Polingyouma on June 18, 1991, conducted by T. J. Ferguson at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmobi, Arizona, p. 17. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmobi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991.]

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 8.

⁴³ Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 7.

⁴⁴ Transcript of interview of Nat Natongla on July 9, 1991, conducted by T. J. Ferguson at the Honanni Building, Kykotsmobi, Hopi Indian Reservation, pp. 6-7. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmobi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Nat Natongla interview, July 9, 1991.]

River." The Havasupai people are thus sometimes called *Sakwawayusinom*, "People of the Blue River."⁴⁵ The Hopis also refer to the Havasupai by the name *Ko'onina*.⁴⁶

In some contexts, *Sakwatupqa* ("Blue Canyon") is also applied to the Little Colorado River Gorge downstream of Blue Spring. This use of the term describes the remarkable blue water that flows down *Paayu* from Blue Spring to *Pisisvayu*.⁴⁷

DEITIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE GRAND CANYON

The Hopi deities associated with the Grand Canyon create important cultural ties between *Öngtupqa* and the Hopi people. Colton (1947:10) observed that the Hopi make a distinction between deities and the spirits of men, animals, and plants that are embodied by Katsinas. Many deities never appear as Katsinas and are not even represented by images. The Hopi recognize more than 36 deities, at least 11 of which are associated with the Grand Canyon.

As Fewkes (1897:191) noted almost a century ago, there are "all shades of opinion" among the Hopi regarding their deities and the way they are embodied in living people, images, or paintings. Much of this diversity in belief stems from the hierarchical levels of esoteric knowledge that exist in Hopi culture. People who are not initiated into religious societies will have a much different understanding of certain aspects of the Hopi religion than the initiates who have been entrusted with a higher order of religious knowledge. This fundamental aspect of Hopi culture should be kept in mind in reading the following, brief descriptions of the Hopi deities associated with the Grand Canyon.

Ma'saw

In many versions of Hopi traditional history, when the Hopi emerged from the *Sipapuni* into the Fourth World, they encountered the deity *Ma'saw* in the Grand Canyon. *Ma'saw* is the guardian of the Fourth World and he urged the Hopi to adopt his way of life, giving them a *sooya* (digging stick), *poshumi* (bag of seeds), and *mongwikoro* (gourd of water) so they could live as humble and hardworking farmers. The Hopi entered into a spiritual pact with *Ma'saw*, wherein he agreed to let the Hopi use his land if they would act as stewards of the earth (Dan Katchongva, David Monongye, Andrew Hermequaftewa, and George Nasoftie in Bureau of Indian Affairs 1955:23-26, 44, 79-87; Ferguson et al 1993:27; Malotki and Lomatuway'ma 1987:67-73; Jenkins et al. 1994:1). The continuing relationship between *Ma'saw* and the Hopi people constitutes the foundation of Hopi cultural ties to the Grand Canyon.

After describing how the Hopi people were saved from the previous, corrupt world, Hermequaftewa (1953:1-2) explained the commitment the Hopi people made to *Ma'saw* to take care of the world. In his words,

⁴⁵ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 16-17.

Walter Hamana interview, July 16 1993, p. 10.

Max Taylor and Dennis Koeyahongya in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 42.

⁴⁶ Eric Polingyouma, personal communication, December 23, 1996.

⁴⁷ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 39.

After many days with Him, time came for all of the first Hopi to move out onto the face of this land. Maasau gathered us all about Him on that day and gave us instructions as to the obligations He placed upon us. He provided us with many altars and many emblems which, with us, are to represent the land and the people. These He placed in the hands of our leaders through whom we follow this new life.

Even though the Hopi encountered *Ma'saw* in the Grand Canyon, *Ma'saw's* land, or *Mastutsqwa*, extended far beyond *Öngtupqa* (Swanton 1952:352; Malotki and Lomatuway'ma 1987:68). The geographical extent of *Mastutsqwa* was described by A. M. Stephen in the 1890s, using information collected during discussions in Hopi kivas. According to Stephen (1929:55-56),

Masau first traveled south, then circuitously to the eastward until he reached his starting point. He called this area his land. The exact limits are unknown, but it is surmised he started from a point about where Fort Mohave now is situated, thence south as far as the Isthmus of Panama, skirted eastward along the Gulf of Mexico and northward by the line of the Rio Grande up into Colorado, thence westerly along the thirty-six parallel or thereabouts to the Rio Colorado, meandering along its tributaries and so on southward to his starting point at Fort Mohave. This was Masau's land originally, the land of the Hopituh.

As a part of their pact with *Ma'saw*, the Hopi people vowed to place their "footprints" throughout *Mastutsqwa* as they migrated in a spiritual quest to find their destiny at the center of the universe. In so doing, *Mastutsqwa* became *Hopitutskwa* (Hopi land). The Hopi clans embarked on a long series of migrations that led them throughout the Southwest and beyond, settling for a time in various places where they established themselves by cultivating and caring for the earth. As the Hopi migrated they left behind the graves of their ancestors, as well as ruins, petroglyphs, potsherds, and many other artifacts as evidence that they had vested the land with their spiritual stewardship and fulfilled their pact with *Ma'saw*. These archaeological sites today constitute monuments by which Hopi people verify their clan histories and religious beliefs (Jenkins et al. 1994).

Ma'saw is a complex and powerful deity. As Malotki and Lomatuway'ma (1987:1-2) have observed, "In the entire pantheon of Hopi ... none is more important than the god Maasaw. His complexity and wealth of associations within the Hopi scheme of the world is immense." *Ma'saw* is the ruler of the underworld, the proprietor of the earth, the owner of fire and crops, the maker of all animals and vegetation, and the defender of the Hopi lifeway (Titiev 1944:134; Colton 1947:10-11; Tyler 1964:3-47; Nequatewa 1967:26; Eggan 1994:8). As such, *Ma'saw* is venerated for his power over life and death.

More than a century ago, Fewkes (1892a:15) noted that *Ma'saw* is the god of the earth's surface who controls the growth of plants. *Ma'saw* is thus a beneficent as well as awesome being. *Ma'saw's* home in the Grand Canyon is located near the *Sipapuni*, through which Hopis enter the underworld after death.⁴⁸ The *Masngyam* (*Ma'saw* Clan in the Kokop phratry) sends "special offerings" to *Ma'saw* in the Grand Canyon.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Transcript of interview of Wilton Kooyahoema, Sr., on August 28, 1992, conducted by Eric Polingyouma, T. J. Ferguson, and Gail Lotenberg at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 40. Ms. on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992.]

Ma'saw's association with the emergence and the afterlife, with life and death, makes him an awesome deity. Consequently, all Hopis who travel near his abode in *Öngtupqa* feel a deep and abiding respect and fear for his spiritual power. *Ma'saw's* spiritual presence imbues the Grand Canyon with a great sacredness.

Kwanitaqa

Kwanitaqa, the "One-Horned," is another deity associated with the Grand Canyon. The *Kwanitaqa* wears a headdress with a single horn turned back, and it is due to this characteristic that he is called the "One Horn" in English. In describing the One Horn, Colton (1947:11) wrote, "Kwanitaqa guards the gate to the Hopi underworld, where the departed spirits go, and directs the souls on two paths, one for righteous people and one for evil people. He can do this because he knows peoples' thoughts. He is a kind god and helped the Hopi come from the underworld."⁵⁰ One of the Hopi cultural advisors confirmed the importance of *Kwanitaqa* with respect to the Grand Canyon by stating that it is the One Horn that lets you into the canyon. This advisor noted that the One Horn knows what you have done in your life and he decides whether or not you are allowed into the canyon.⁵¹ The *Kwan* Society associated with the *Kwanitaqa* thus has important associations with *Öngtupqa*.

Muyingwa

Muyingwa is associated with underworld and germination.⁵² *Muyingwa* resides in the middle of the earth below *Huruing Wuhti's* kiva, and is the Hopi deity associated with the reproduction of people, animals, and plants (Haeberlin 1916:18-19; Colton 1947:11). *Muyingwa* produces the seeds from which all life stems, and thus plays an important role in the Hopi religion. Because *Muyingwa's* home is the underworld, the Hopi invoke his help by way of the *Sipapuni* of the kiva (Titiev 1944:173). *Muyingwa* is associated with *Wuwtsim*, or Tribal Initiation Ceremony, as well as with the Honanngyam (Badger Clan).

Kokyangsowu'ti (Spider Old Woman)

Fewkes (1892a:15) says *Kokyangsowu'ti* (Spider Old Woman or Spider Grandmother) is the "goddess of wisdom; she can change her form at will." *Kokyangsowu'ti* has many associations with *Öngtupqa* and there is a shrine in the canyon associated with her (Eggan 1994:11). Hopi cultural advisors confirm the presence of *Kokyangsowu'ti* at *Öngtupqa*, describing her as a wise woman who protects things.⁵³

Wilton Kooyahoema in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, pp. 8-9

⁴⁹ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 26.

⁵⁰ Eric Polingyouma (personal communication, December 28, 1996) points out that some Hopis believe it is the Two Horn that serves as the guard, while the One Horn receives the people entering the Underworld.

⁵¹ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 31.

⁵² Eric Polingyouma (personal communication, December 28, 1996) reports that *Muyingwa* and *Alosaka* are actually two different deities.

⁵³ Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, p. 13.

Huruingwu'ti

Huruingwu'ti is associated with the creation of the world. She resides in a kiva situated at the mouth of the Colorado River. The walls of her kiva are decorated with beads, turquoise, shells and other "hard substances." *Huruingwu'ti* is consequently sometimes called the "goddess of hard substances." She appears in the form of an old woman during the day and a beautiful maiden at night. Accounts from Walpi describe *Huruingwu'ti* as the "kind mother" with a tender and generous heart. *Huruingwu'ti* plays a prominent role in the First Mesa narrative about the introduction of the Snake ceremony. This an account that includes a trip down the Colorado River through the Grand Canyon (Haeberlin 1917:18-19; Colton 1947:11). As the Goddess of Hard Substances, *Huruingwu'ti* is associated with the salt deposits at the Hopi Salt Mine (Hough n.d.a; 1910; Swanton 1910:419-420).

Öngwu'ti

Öngwu'ti, or "Salt Woman," has an important association with the Hopi Salt Mine in the Grand Canyon.⁵⁴ Hopi cultural advisors explain that *Öngwu'ti's* spirit resides at the Salt Mine, and that she takes care of it and replenishes the salt supply at that location.⁵⁵

Although Fewkes (1906:352-353) documented in the early twentieth century that some Hopis believed that *Öngwu'ti* and *Huruingwu'ti* were two names for the same deity, these are actually separate sacred personages (Colton 1947:10-16). They are, however, closely related because *Öngwu'ti* tends the salt, and salt is one of the "hard substances" belonging to *Huruingwu'ti*. Colton (1947:13) noted that the Hopi think of *Öngwu'ti* as an elderly woman who has the power to predict seasons. She is a good deity that provides the Hopi people with salt. *Öngwu'ti* never appears as a Katsina.

Öngwu'ti simultaneously resides in two locations.⁵⁶ As Curtis (1922:104) wrote,

Ön-wühti ("salt woman") is supplicated with offerings at two shrines, one at the salt cañon in the Grand cañon, with the other near the Salt Lake of the Zuni. Supplicants pray they may obtain the salt easily, saying, for instance, "We offer these prayers to you that you may keep the salt pure, and let us get it easily." These petitions are similar to the ones salt gatherers deliver to the warrior gods.

Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, p.40.

⁵⁴ Transcript of interview of Robinson Letseoma and Tom Kahe on September 30, 1991, conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Eric Polingyouma at the First Mesa Community Development Office, Polacca, Arizona, pp. 17-18. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmobi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Robinson Letseoma and Tom Kahe interview, September 30, 1991.]

Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, January 21, 1992, p. 2.

Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, p. 13.

⁵⁵ T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 49.

⁵⁶ Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, January 21, 1992, p. 2.

Pökanghoya and Palöngawhoya

Pökanghoya and *Palöngawhoya* are two deities with important associations to *Öngtupqa*. Although *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* are often glossed in English as the "Twin War Gods," Hopis point out they are not twins because one is older and the other is younger (Yava 1978:46-47). *Palöngawhoya* means "echo" because he does everything his older brother does. Characterizing the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* as "War Gods" is not entirely accurate because they are associated with much more than the "warfare" the Hopi were forced to engage in to deal with violence instigated by other people. In some Hopi villages *Pökanghoya* is the term used to refer to both brothers and *Palöngawhoya* is used to refer to another spiritual being.⁵⁷

The *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* are often associated with *Kokyangsowu'ti* (Spider Woman), both in the Grand Canyon and at the Zuni Salt Lake (Curtis 1922:90,103; Mindeleff 1891:17). In describing *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya*, Colton (1947:12-13) wrote they are twin gods, grandsons of the Spider Woman, who mingle with the Hopi people and play tricks on them. However, if the Hopi people are in trouble, *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* appeal to their wise grandmother, who invariably shows them how to overcome evil and enemies. Colton added that *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* are depicted as young boys who are also warriors.

With respect to *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya*, Curtis (1922:103) documented that,

Two gods bearing these names live in the crater of the Zuni Salt Lake and two others live at ön-túpka ("salt canyon") in the Grand cañon, each pair with its grandmother, Spider woman. When the Hopis make prayer-sticks or *naqasi* for the warrior gods at the Salt Lake, they deposit them on the east side of the pueblo, and when the offerings are intended for the Salt cañon they are placed on the west side of the mesa. The exigencies of storytelling have resulted in the invention of many other homes for the warrior gods, but these two places are the only homes recognized in ceremonies. The twin gods are supplicated for courage, and because of their indifference to suffering, they are requested to visit the North Chief, and have him send snow and resultant moisture for the fields.

The spirits of *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* are everywhere. Very literally, they are both ends of the world.⁵⁸ Because *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* travel on the rainbow or on the downy feather of an eagle, they can thus move about almost instantaneously (Curtis 1922:103-104). Like *Öngwu'ti*, with whom they are closely related, the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya*, live at *Öngtupqa* and the Zuni Salt Lake at the same time.⁵⁹ A *tuuwutsi* (folktale) about Coyote recounted by Malotki and Lomatuway'ma (1984:137), for instance, includes the statement "Responsible this time were the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* brothers who lived in the canyon, not the brothers who carried him back home."

⁵⁷ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 49.

⁵⁸ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 49.

⁵⁹ Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 45.

It is the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* who led the Hopi people to the salt after *Öngwu'ri* moved away from the Hopi Mesas to *Öngtupqa* and Zuni Salt Lake.⁶⁰ Consequently, the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* are associated with important shrines at both places (Hough n.d.a). On the pilgrimage route to *Öngtupqa*, it is the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* who established all the shrines and inaugurated the ceremonies that need to be performed at each sacred spot (Titiev 1937:244). Two of the sacred places association with *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* include a rock spire near the head of Salt Trail Canyon and a mushroom-shaped rock at the ledge above the Hopi Salt Mine.⁶¹ At Oraibi, preparations for a pilgrimage to the Grand Canyon began during the Soyal ceremony when special prayer feathers were deposited at a shrine dedicated to the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya*.

Pökanghoya is the protector of the canyon. Religious leaders from Shungopavi visit the Grand Canyon during ceremonies specifically for *Pökanghoya* to renew his arrows and other sacred artifacts.⁶²

In one Hopi religious society, salt from the Grand Canyon is called *Palöngönga* (Little Warrior Salt), an allusion to the association between the young brothers and the salt mine at *Öngtupqa*.⁶³

Sa'lako

Sa'lako is another Hopi deity associated with the Grand Canyon. As one Hopi cultural advisor said, "*Sa'lako* also has salt in her story, I was told. She originated from Grand Canyon and went to Zuni by way of San Francisco Peaks."⁶⁴ There is a rock spire in the Little Colorado River Gorge that embodies *Sa'lako*.⁶⁵

In describing *Sa'lako*, Hough (1898:138-139) wrote,

⁶⁰ Transcribed excerpts of interview of Dalton Taylor on January 22, 1992, conducted by T. J. Ferguson at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 6. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Dalton Taylor interview, January 22, 1992.]

⁶¹ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 26.

Merwin Kooyahoema in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, April 23, 1991, p. 1.

Eric Polingyouma in Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 29, 1992, p. 35.

Orville Hongeva in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 2.

⁶² Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 26.

⁶³ Eric Polingyouma, n.d. Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moencopi. Ms. on file at Cultural Preservation Office, the Hopi Tribe, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Eric Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moencopi.]

Eric Polingyouma, n.d. Hopi Salt Trail through Black Point. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office. [Hereinafter referred to as Eric Polingyouma, Salt Trail through Black Point.]

⁶⁴ Notes of Eric Polingyouma of interview of LaVern Siweumtewa on January 14, 1992, conducted by Eric Polingyouma at Mishongnovi Village, Arizona, p. 1. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as LaVern Siweumtewa interview, January 14, 1992.]

⁶⁵ Bradley Balenquah and Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 39.

Perhaps Sálako, mother of the Snake Priest and herself hereditary Snake Woman, is the chief medicine woman in Tusayan. She is indeed a remarkable character, and no one is better versed in spells and herbs than she ... From Sálako and her son Kopele much of the information in regard to plants used by the Moki was obtained.

Since the hereditary Snake Woman originally resided in the Grand Canyon, Hough's description alludes to the association of *Sa'lako* and *Öngtupqa*.

Koninkatsina

Some Hopis have suggested that the *Ko'onina* Katsina that represents the Havasupai people resides in the Grand Canyon during the winter (Ahlstrom et al 1993:82-83).

Kooyemsi

The *Kooyemsi*, or Mudheads, live in the Grand Canyon at a place called *Tatatsiqwtömuy kiiam* (Mudhead kiva). Nearby this location is a place called *Mootorzo önga*, where the salt is curled upwards in a cave.⁶⁶

ÖNGTUPQA AS THE PLACE OF EMERGENCE

Many Hopis associate the Grand Canyon with the *Sipapuni*, or Place of Emergence. The religious and secular aspects of this association are discussed below.

The Sipapuni

Hopi children and Hopis who have not participated in the *Wuwtsim* (Tribal Initiation Ceremony) are taught that the Hopi people emerged into the Fourth World at the *Sipapuni*, a travertine cone located in the Little Colorado River Gorge.⁶⁷ Hopi cultural advisors point out, however, that a true understanding of the *Sipapuni* requires ritual knowledge that is not appropriate

⁶⁶ Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, pp., 27, 32.

Notes of T. J. Ferguson taken during interview of Harold Polingyumtewa on September 30, 1991 at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 3. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Harold Polingyumtewa interview, September 30, 1991.]

⁶⁷ Notes of T. J. Ferguson from interview of Esther Talayumtewa and Karen L. Shupla of the Hopi Resources Committee on August 1, 1991, conducted by T. J. Ferguson, Jean Ann Reznick, and Eric Polingyouma at the Tribal Building, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 1. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Esther Talayumtewa and Karen Shupla interview, August 1, 1991.]

Transcript of interview of Vernon Masayesva, Chairman of the Hopi Tribe, on August 28, 1991, conducted by T. J. Ferguson at the Chairman's Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Vernon Masayesva interview, August 28, 1991.]

Transcript of an interview of Lee Wayne Lomayestewa, conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Merwin Kooyahoema, July 7, 1993 at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 11. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Lee Wayne Lomayestewa interview, July 7, 1993.]

Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, p. 12.

for inclusion in a scholarly report. At one level of knowledge the association of the *Sipapuni* with the place of emergence is accurate. At another, higher level of ritual knowledge the true meaning of the *Sipapuni* is more complicated than that. Nonetheless, all Hopis have a strong affective bond to the *Sipapuni* for reasons they choose not to reveal in their entirety.⁶⁸

A full account of the emergence and migration of the Hopi people to the Hopi Mesas is beyond the scope of this report. In its entirety, such an account would be exceedingly lengthy. In 1890, for instance, Youkeoma, a religious leader at Oraibi, spent ten days talking with Colonel Hugh G. Scott about the origins of the Hopi and related matters. As Crane (1925:162) wryly commented about this meeting, "It was the seventh day, and Youkeoma, in the recital of his traditions, had reached a date only four hundred years removed."

Numerous accounts of the Hopi emergence can be found in anthropological and historical publications (Crane 1925; Cushing 1925; Geertz 1994:368-421; Goldfrank 1948; James 1974:2-8; Mullet 1979:1-7; Parsons 1939:236-242; Powell 1972:24-25; Quinn 1983; Tyler 1964:81-115; Schoolcraft 1854:86; Simmons 1942:418-420; Stephen n.d.a, 1929:3-10; Vescey 1988:34-63; Voth 1905:10-18; Waters 1977:17-20). In addition to these, there are also accounts by other Hopi elders (Kotchungva 1938; Katchongva n.d., 1972; Hermequaftewa 1953; Monongye n.d.) and other Hopi writers (Nequatewa 1967:7-26; Sekaquaptewa 1969:224-228; Yava 1978:38-40). Finally, environmentalists who have co-opted Hopi prophecy (Tarbet n.d.), have also presented accounts of the emergence and migration. Interested readers should refer to these sources for detailed accounts of the Hopi emergence.

For the purpose of this report, it is sufficient to note that it is commonly reported in anthropological publications that some Hopi believe they emerged from the Underworld through the *Sipapuni* in the bottom of the Grand Canyon (Eggan 1971:x, 1994:7-8; Fewkes 1907:566; Geertz 1984:219-220, 1994:81). In some Hopi narratives recorded by scholars, *Ma'saw* is described as being present at the emergence, standing astride the *Sipapuni*, helping each Hopi to the surface and greeting him with welcome (Stephen 1936:137; Malotki and Lomatuway'ma 1987:38).

The location of the *Sipapuni* was documented by the earliest anthropologists to work at Hopi. Stephen (1891a:1) and Fewkes (1894:106), for instance, collected a narrative from Wiki at First Mesa that included the statement, "Far down in the lowest deep of Pí-sis-bai-yu (the far below river, the Colorado) at the place where we used to gather salt, is the Sí-pa-püh, the orifice where we emerged from the Underworld. The Zuni, the Kohonino, the Pah-Ute, the Whiteman, all people came up from the below at that place."

Stephen (1891c:1) subsequently added an exegetic note to Wiki's account, pointing out that Hopis did not believe that all humankind emerged from the Hopi *Sipapuni*. In this regard, Stephen (1891b) wrote that the "Tówa, Komántci, and Kái-o-wa came up together at the Sipapü near the great water far in the north-east — and upon the same day as the Hopi [and] others emerged from the Sipapü in the South-west." Stephen (1936:1167) also noted that Hopis at First Mesa believed that the Zunis and Havasupais emerged at "Üñtupkabi," located in the Grand Canyon at a different place than the Hopi *Sipapuni*. People at Oraibi, as well as First Mesa, also thought that the Zunis and the Havasupais emerged from a location other than the Hopi *Sipapuni* (Voth 1905:18).

⁶⁸ Notes Taken During the Meeting of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, February 3, 1992, Honahni Tribal Building, Kykotsmobi, Arizona. Ms. on file at Institute of the North American West, Tucson, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT meeting, February 3, 1992.]

Courlander (1971:214), writing 80 years after Stephen and Fewkes, avows that Hopis from Walpi and other First Mesa people do not agree that the *Sipapuni* is in the Grand Canyon, asserting that its location is no longer known. Courlander's comment may indicate there has been a loss of traditional knowledge at First Mesa. However, it may also be that Hopis at First Mesa chose not to share esoteric knowledge with Courlander and he consequently misconstrued what they were (or were not) telling him.

Some Hopis have told scholars that the origin narrative should not be taken literally but understood symbolically (Loftin 1991:66). Anthropologists and scholars of religion have therefore sought to give symbolic meaning to Hopi accounts of emergence from the *Sipapuni*. Kaiser (1991:3), for instance, suggests one alternative interpretation is the emergence of humankind from a less conscious existence into one marked by a greater consciousness. Similarly, several anthropologists have interpreted the Hopi account of emergence as a narrative of gestation and birth (Matthews 1902; Haeberlin 1916:14; Eggan 1994:9; Loftin 1982:197).

Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma suggests that "*Sipapuni*" is an archaic linguistic term for which there is no contemporary explanation. Malotki and Lomatuway'ma (1987:38), however, speculate that the etymology of the term *Sipapuni* may be related to the words for navel (*sipna*) and *siihu* (navel cord). Similarly, with respect to the etymology of "*Sipapuni*," Loftin (1991:125-126) wrote,

Sipaapuni refers to the Hopi place of origin and emergence to this world. A highly symbolic term, it seems not to break down into any component parts. "Navel" (*sipna*) seems to be the basic etymon. Some Hopis have suggested that *sipaapu* is a distortion of *sipna*, since both are, related to birth. Apparently the term is so significant that it is highly symbolic and numinous, hiding the ordinary word *sipna*. As some Hopis say, "by means of it, it will be concealed, that's why" (*put akw pam pail tupkiwtaniqw oovi'o*). Emory Sekaquaptewa, to whom I am indebted for this explication, further transliterates: "The concealment makes it obscure or unexplainable." Here is shown an example of a religious term whose sacredness is manifested by its ineffable character. Religiously, this makes sense in that religious symbols point to universal and timeless meanings, meanings not bound by place or duration.

The *Sipapuni* is entailed in many aspects of Hopi culture and behavior (Nequatewa 1946:16). With respect to Hopi beliefs about the *Sipapuni*, Hopi cultural advisors from Second Mesa provided the following summary,⁶⁹

Hopis believe that life originated there and people went in all directions. It is mentioned in our most sacred songs and [there is] reason to cause some concern to us. There are some who came before us and have traveled through the canyons. *Sipapu*, the origin of life, is an important place in the canyon. All of the Hopi kivas symbolize this, and we use it in our ceremonies ... *Sipapu* is the place where we pass

⁶⁹ Transcript of interview of Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quavema, and Cedric Kewaninveya on July 15, 1991, conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Eric Polingyouma at the Shipaulovi Community Center, Hopi Indian Reservation. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quavema, and Cedric Kewaninveya interview, July 15, 1991.]

to the underworld when one passes on. Children (*tsa-tsa-yum*) are most seen in the *Sipapu*.

As this brief review indicates, Hopi beliefs about the *Sipapuni* are complex and they give the Hopi people enduring cultural ties to and concerns about *Öngtupqa*. This is because *Öngtupqa* is where the *Sipapuni* is located.

Place of Emergence of the Tewa at Hopi

A group of Tewa people migrated from the Rio Grande to First Mesa in the early 18th century (Reed 1952; Stanislawski 1979:600). Tewa accounts of origin and migration thus differ from the Hopi people. In a Tewa narrative entitled "The Emergence," Parsons (1926:9-14) describes the emergence of the Tewa of New Mexico from a big lake named *Ohange okwinge*, located somewhere to the north of Taos Pueblo. Other anthropologists have identified the Tewa place of emergence as "Sibopay," a briny lake possibly located north of Alamosa, Colorado (Yava 1978:44; Clemmer 1993:82-83).

In describing the Tewa who live at First Mesa, Emory Sekaquaptewa noted that they have adopted Hopi Katsina practices and created songs with the references to the Hopi cardinal directions.⁷⁰ These Tewa have thus incorporated elements of Hopi culture into their belief system. Parsons (1926:169-175) found this to be true in that some narratives of the emergence and migration recounted by Tewa at First Mesa describe the origin of the Hopi and the preeminence of the Bear Clan at Walpi. These accounts thus have very different thematic elements than the Tewa accounts from New Mexico.

The Sipapu in Hopi Kivas

The *Sipapuni* in *Öngtupqa* is related to an architectural feature found in Hopi kivas. This architectural feature, called a *sipapu*, is a small hole located in kiva floors. Kiva *sipapu* have been described by many scholars, some of whom refer to it as an "earth navel" (Fewkes 1898a:523, 1906:360; Frigout 1979:568; Geertz 1984:233, 1994:81; Hieb 1979:579, 1994a:, 1994b:242; James 1940:9; Kaiser 1991:3; King 1987:26; Loftin 1991:49; Voth 1901:68). More than a century ago, for instance, Fewkes (1892:20) described the kiva *sipapu* as,

A little to the north of the middle line of the floor . . . a plank a few feet long is let into the floor, extending north and south. In the middle of this plank is a round opening a little larger than a broom handle, which is called the *si-pa-pu*, or entrance to the centre of the earth. It represents the traditional opening through which, in ancient times, the people came to the earth's surface, and is associated in the Indian mind with that opening through which individuals as well as races are born.

While many anthropologists suggest the kiva *sipapu* has a symbolic function, Haeberlin (1916:22) perceptively realized that the orifices in the floors of Hopi kivas are more than symbolic and have important esoteric functions.

⁷⁰ Notes of T. J. Ferguson from interview of Emory Sekaquaptewa, conducted by T. J. Ferguson at the University of Arizona, Tucson, January 14, 1992, p. 7. Ms. at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Emory Sekaquaptewa interview, January 14, 1992.]

HOPI BELIEFS ABOUT DEATH, THE *SIPAPUNI*, AND THE GRAND CANYON

The *Sipapuni* and the Grand Canyon are important in Hopi beliefs about the continuity of life after death. The afterlife is a fundamental concept in Hopi religion and ceremonies (Voth 1912a:99; Parsons 1939:216; Titiev 1944:197, 1958:535; O'Kane 1953:169; Bradfield 1973:41-42; Hieb 1979:577; Loftin 1982:30; Quinn 1983:41; Geertz 1984:228). Most of the anthropological writing about the Hopi afterlife derives from research conducted at Oraibi and Hotevilla, and the published literature thus provides what is primarily a Third Mesa perspective on this topic (Ferguson et al. 1997).

Öngtupqa is integral in the Hopi beliefs about death. As Pautiwa (Ned Zeena) from Walpi observed, "... you go west when you die to the Grand Canyon, over where the Oraibis go for their salt" (Courlander 1982:101). During interviews for this report, many Hopi cultural advisors identified the *Sipapuni* and the Grand Canyon as the ultimate destiny for Hopis when they die. Even Hopis who don't recognize the *Sipapuni* as the place of emergence believe it is the passage to the underworld for people after death.⁷¹

⁷¹ Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, pp. 30-31.

Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 2-3, 12.

Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, p. 9.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1993, p. 14.

Lee Wayne Lomayestewa interview, July 7, 1993, p. 11.

Harold Polingyumptewa interview, September 30, 1991, p. 2.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 7, 18.

Esther Talayumptewa and Karen Shupla interview, August 1, 1991, p. 2.

Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, pp. 23-24.

Eric Polingyouma in notes of T. J. Ferguson from an interview of Dalton Taylor on November 13, 1991, conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Eric Polingyouma at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 2. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Dalton Taylor interview, November 13, 1991.]

Notes of Eric Polingyouma from interview of LaVern Siweumtewa and Frank Mofsie on July 9, 1991, conducted by Eric Polingyouma and T. J. Ferguson at Mishongnovi, Arizona, p. 1. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as LaVern Siweumtewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991.]

Transcript of interview of Walter Hamana on June 20, 1991, conducted by T. J. Ferguson at Old Oraibi, Arizona, pp. 2, 4. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991.]

Transcript of interview of Delfred Leslie, conducted by T. J. Ferguson at the Tribal Courts Building, Hopi Indian Reservation, December 16, 1992, transcribed by Vivian Poocha, p. 9. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Delfred Leslie interview, December 16, 1992.]

Death and the *Sipapuni* are inextricably linked in the Hopi worldview. Regarding this, Loftin (1982:197) wrote,

After the first Two Heart emerged from the *sipaapuni* he brought death to the Hopi. Death upset the Hopi, who then decided to send the witch back down the *sipaapuni* from which he came. However, the witch told the father of the deceased child to look down into the underworld and there the father saw his child alive and playing a game. The witch said death is not final and is indeed necessary to transform humans into purely spiritual beings, from which comes more life. Thus, the Hopi decided to let the witch remain for they felt his evil was a necessary component in the maintenance of the world. In other words, though the Hopi seek rain, fertility, long life, and good health in this life, they recognize also that life springs from death and thus they accept ultimately the presence of death in the world.

Many anthropologists have discussed how the Hopi believe that after death the souls of the departed travel west to *Maski*, literally "dead person" or "Skeletal House" but more accurately translated as "home of our ancestor's spirits." *Maski* is often described as being located at the bottom of the Grand Canyon (Dorsey 1903:128; Fewkes 1907:566; Lockett 1933:76; Carle 1941:55-59; Schwartz 1966:476-477; Eggan 1994:10). *Maski* in its true context, however, is *everywhere*. The term "underworld" is greatly influenced by the physical and tangible geographic location of the *Sipapuni* in the Grand Canyon but this term also signifies other spiritual concepts. What is essential, as Colton (1946:3-4) explained, is that *Maski* is "...the abode of spirits of the dead. Here the unseen spirits are believed to live in invisible pueblos and carry on their life like living Hopis in the world above."

Herschel Talashoma explained the concept of *Maski* by stating, "When you die you become a *Ma'saw* but I don't know if ... skeleton is really the right term for *Ma'saw*. But that's what it would be. Your flesh is gone you're nothing but a skeleton. In English the way they translate this skeleton,

Transcript of interview of Harold Koruh on June 20, 1991, conducted by Eric Polingyouma and T. J. Ferguson at Mishongnovi, transcribed by Merwin Kooyahoema, p. 4. Ms. on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991.]

Notes of T. J. Ferguson from interview of Orville Hongeva and Gilbert Naseyouma on August 28, 1992, conducted by T. J. Ferguson, Gail Lotenberg, and Eric Polingyouma, at Moencopi, Hopi Indian Reservation, p. 1. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Orville Hongeva and Gilbert Naseyouma interview on August 28, 1992.]

Notes of Eric Polingyouma from interview of Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma on July 10, 1991, conducted by Eric Polingyouma and T. J. Ferguson at Shungopavi Village, p. 1. Combined notes of Eric Polingyouma and T. J. Ferguson. Ms. on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991.]

Transcript of excerpts from interview of Patrick Lomawaima on January 28, 1992, conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Eric Polingyouma at the Torvea Guidance Center, Second Mesa, p. 6. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Patrick Lomawaima interview, January 28, 1992.]

skeleton house, *Maski* that's what they call it."⁷² Talashoma referred to *Maski* as the "perfect place" that is the "destiny" of all good Hopis.⁷³

Anthropologists have commented on the fact that data on Hopi death customs are difficult to collect because the Hopi are reticent to discuss death (Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1935:14-15; Murdock 1934:345). Kennard (1937:491) observed this reticence stems from the fact that,

A man who thinks of the dead or of the future life instead of being concerned with worldly activities is thereby bringing about his own death. In folklore are tales of people who wonder about what happens to the dead and are given the opportunity to visit the underworld by magical means, and return to life to tell the people about it. In such tales the living are urged not be lonesome and not to long for the deceased.

Bradfield (1973:41-42) and Geertz (1984:228) described some aspects of Hopi burial customs on Third Mesa that relate to the afterlife. These practices differ from village to village. The *hiqws*i ("breath") of a person is immortal and at death leaves the body through the mouth. Bradfield (1973:42) remarks, "The underlying idea behind each of these ritual elements is the same: namely, that the 'breath body' may be light, not 'heavy' (*pe'te*), and so be enabled to go on its way to the land of the dead." The women attending the burial say "You are no longer a Hopi, you are changed [*nih'ti*, grown into] ... and when you get yonder, you are to tell the chiefs [i.e., of the six directions] to hasten to bring the rain clouds here." In the process of leaving the corpse, the "breath body" undergoes a metamorphosis.

For three days after the interment, offerings are placed at the grave. On the third day, the father or uncle of the deceased makes prayer-offerings and takes these to the grave. Upon returning home, all the members of the household wash their hair and ritually purify themselves in the smoke of a fire. The hair washing and naming rituals that accompany burials signifies a change in status comparable to birth or initiation (Bradfield 1973:44-45; Whiteley 1992:211).

On the fourth day, as Bradfield (1973:44) described,

Early in the next morning, according to Hopi belief, the 'breath body' (*hi'ksi ah'paa*) of the dead person rises from the grave, partakes of the 'breath' of the food, mounts the 'breath' of the ... prayer-stick, and then travels westward along the 'road' to the house of the dead, taking the 'breath' of the ... *pa'ho* with it as an offering to the Masau'u.

The journey to *Maski* that deceased Hopis make on the fourth day was described by Stephen, (1894a:7-9), who also sketched a diagram showing what occurs along the route (Figure 7).

⁷² Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, p. 27.

⁷³ Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, pp. 7-8, 13.

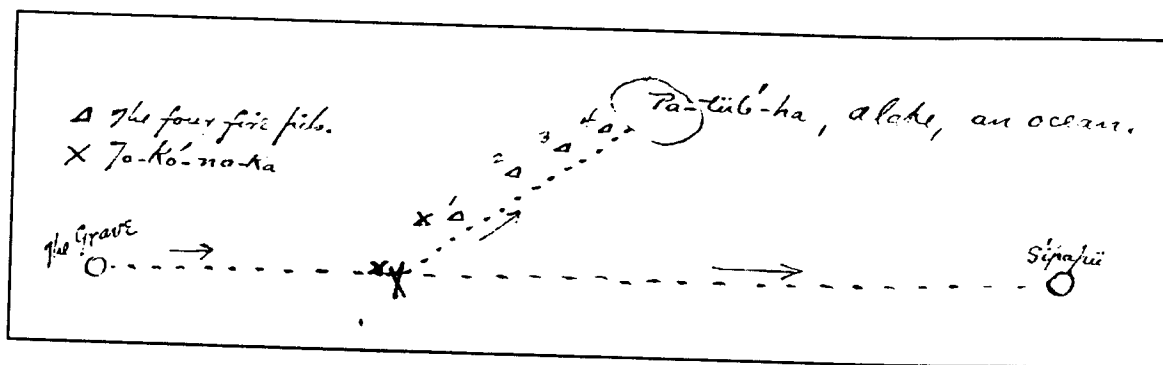


Figure 7. Diagram showing route to the underworld after death. Source: Stephen (1894:7).

Stephen's discussion of this diagram is lengthy but because it directly relates to the Grand Canyon it is worth quoting in its entirety. In describing the journey to Maski, Stephen (1894a:7-9) wrote,

After a man dies — his breath-body [B.B.] passes to the Below (I think on the straight-road described by the sun when he passes through the underworld) but be that as it may the B.B. goes to the below on a straight road ... At the fork of the road sits To-ko'-na'-ka ... a Kwa'-Kwan-ti Chief ... when the B.B. comes to the place where the chief sits, the Chief looks him over — and if satisfied he says to B. B. üm pac-lóó-a-i = you are a good (man) go on — and B. B. passes along the road and goes down the Sipapü in the far West — the early Sipapü — the one up which all mankind came. He goes back to the place because from — the underworld — the place of Mürijiñwû and O'mauwû.

Another B.B. comes to the forks of the road — and the Chief says "You are bad" — and he takes him up the crooked road to the place of the first fire pit where sits another chief — also called Toko'naka. + the first chief returns to his place at the forks of the road.

The fire pit is very large and is full of blazing wood — the Chief flings the bad B.B. in the fire pit and after it has burned (for a time) it emerges (Kü'yi-va). Perhaps this B.B. was only a "little bad" — if so after emerging the Chief will say "You are good now" — and sends, or takes, him back to the forks + the other Chief being satisfied, the B.B. purified, passes on to the Sipapü.

If on emerging from the first fire pit, the chief is still dissatisfied with B.B. he takes it to 2d firepit and casts it in. If on emerging from there, the Chief is satisfied — then he dismisses B.B.; but this B.B. can never go to the Sipapü, because it is immediately metamorphosed into the Ho-ho-ya-üh!.

All of those beetles [?] we now see in the valleys + among the mesas were once evil Hopitü! If on coming out of 2d fire pit — B.B. is still considered bad by the chief, he takes it to the 3d fire pit + there flings it in — if upon emerging from that pit the chief thinks there is no evil left in B.B. it is metamorphosed into any one of several species of ants! All of which ants that we now see were once evil Hopi!

If upon emerging from the 3d pit the B.B. is still deemed bad by the Chief, he takes it to the fourth pit, where he casts it in and it is utterly consumed — its only residue being black soot upon the side of the fire pit. I have not yet fathomed the purpose of the pa-tüb'ha.

Titiev (1944:177) noted that the complete cycle of death applies only to those who "... travel the full course of life on earth according to the Hopi pattern." Thus the spirit of a child who dies before Katsina initiation must remain on earth until it is reborn in its mother's next child or to accompany her to the afterworld when she dies. Girls who are unwed cannot fulfill their functions as rain bringers since they lack the requisite wedding garments. Men who have never passed through the Tribal Initiation must return to the general underworld in contrast to the spirits of the initiates who have special homes for them. The journey to *Maski* is painfully slow for witches and mean people, some of which are consumed in ovens from which they emerge as beetles.

Some anthropologists have suggested the Hopi beliefs about the journey after death to *Maski* entail the concept of punishment (Parsons 1930:216). Hopi scholar Hartman Lomawaima, however, disputes this idea, pointing out how the Hopi concept of *Maski* has been misunderstood by some scholars. He explained (Lomawaima 1989:97),

It is difficult to know precisely what foreign concepts entered Hopi life as a result of contact with other native populations or missionization. The Hopi concept of *Maski*, or Land of the Dead, has been misinterpreted as a kind of purgatory or hell (Courlander 1982:xxi), but *Maski* has no punitive connotation for Hopis: It refers to the destination of souls when they leave the present world. If *Maski* was derived from an introduced concept it has certainly been imbued with Hopi values so that its origin is difficult to ascertain. Making the correct interpretation is all the more difficult for the outsider because of the secretive nature of Hopi religious institutions, which to this day are treated as the private property of individuals and collectives.

The integration of death into other aspects of the Hopi life cycle is evident in the fact that garments received during the Hopi wedding ceremony are needed in order to journey to the underworld after death and provide clothing for future life (Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987:181-189; Kennard 1937:491-492; Page and Page 1982:111). Concerning this, Geertz and Lomatuway'ma (1987:187) wrote,

It seems that, somewhere along the path which the dead travel, there is a large house which is occupied by the Kookopngyam, who are phratry brothers to the Ma'saw Clan. Here is where all wedding garments end up. The house is filled with robes, gowns, shoes, and belts hanging all over the place. The unfortunate woman who does not own such garments is forced to grind corn all over again in this house ... Other sources stress that the robe carries the deceased swiftly to her destination and helps her float down to the bottom of the Grand Canyon where the entrance to the Underworld lies. It should be noted that the above mentioned wicker plaque, which is made for the groom as repayment, has similar functions. This plaque, which is called *hahawpi*, "instrument of descending," is specially designed and assures his swift and safe journey down to Sipaapuni and below. Thus the accouterments of the marriage ceremony have direct influence on the individual eschatology of the man as well as of the woman.

Stephen's description of the journey to *Maski* was collected at First Mesa in 1894. During research for this report, Hopi cultural advisors from Third Mesa confirmed many of the details provided in Stephen's (1894a:7-9) account.⁷⁴ On First Mesa, however, beliefs about where Hopis reside after death may have changed since the 1890s. Some people from First Mesa now claim they don't specifically know the location of the *Sipapuni* or *Maski*. Yava (1978:98-99), for instance, wrote in 1978, that,

... there are conflicting ideas about where people go when they die. One idea is that the spirits of the dead return to the underworld, from which the people originally came, through the sipapuni. Over here on First Mesa the people don't claim to know where the sipapuni is located. For them the location is lost to memory. But the Oraibis claim that the sipapuni is in the bottom of the Grand Canyon, and they'll tell you exactly where it is. Whenever the Oraibis go the Canyon on a ceremonial salt-gathering expedition—there's a big salt deposit there—they stop at the place where the sipapuni is supposed to be. I think its a marshy spot that is usually covered with muddy water ...

The belief that dead spirits reenter the sipapuni is familiar to most Hopis, but there is also belief in a place called *Maski*, the House of the Dead or the Place of the Dead. It is generally described as being in the west, but over here on First Mesa we don't have any particular knowledge of where it is supposed to be located. Some of the Oraibis believe the entrance to *Maski* is in the Grand Canyon in the general vicinity of the sipapuni. There is a shrine to Masauwu over there. Because they believe this, the Oraibis generally bury their dead facing west, toward the Canyon to which their dead spirits have to go. We First Mesa people don't hold to that belief. We generally bury our dead facing east ...

In evaluating Yava's comments, however, it should be kept in mind that he was Tewa. It may be that Yava was not privileged with esoteric information about the *Sipapuni* and *Maski* that is transmitted in the Hopi kivas on the other villages on First Mesa.

The Hopi do not consider the death of an individual to be a loss. Instead they regard death as an important change in status in which the person is reborn in the Afterworld. Once admitted to the Afterworld, the spirits engage in similar pursuits to what they did on earth. The deceased Hopis acquire supernatural power to bring rain. Titiev (1944:172) observed that the ancestors play an important role in all ceremonies in making the desire for rain known to the spirits in the Afterworld. Titiev (1944:171) explained, "Each day the spirits are said to rise from the original *sipapu*, which is the entrance to the realm of the dead, and to look east towards the Hopi mesas. They select the best ones who are summoning them and go to visit them." Similarly, Loftin (1991:11-12) wrote,

⁷⁴ Transcript of interview of Leigh Jenkins on June 19, 1991, conducted by T. J. Ferguson, Eric Polingyouma, and Jean Ann Reznick at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 12. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991.]

Transcript of interview of Leigh Jenkins on August 26, 1992, conducted by Gail Lotenberg and T. J. Ferguson at the Kykotsmovi, Arizona, pp. 7-9. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Leigh Jenkins interview, August 26, 1992.]

The spiritual source of all life and forms issues from the land of the dead, the underworld, where it appears as life-giving water. Indeed, the Hopi petition their own departed ancestors to visit their villages in the form of clouds to bless them with the sacred gift of rain. Thus death is understood by the Hopi as a return to the spiritual realm from which comes more life.

Several aspects of Hopi burial customs relate to deceased adults becoming clouds (Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1935:14-15; Kennard 1937:491; Murdock 1937:345-346; Stephen 1894a:5-8). After death the face of the corpse is covered with raw cotton, which signifies its future existence as a cloud. After the deceased person is buried, prayer feathers and a pottery bowl of corn meal is taken to the grave. The meal is to feed the spirit of the dead man, the prayer sticks to help it on its journey to become a cloud.

In 1912, Joshua He-mi-yesi-va, a Hopi from Shungopavi attending school at the Carlisle Indian School, described how the deceased Hopis who become Cloud People bring rain. He said (Wallis and Titiev 1945:545),

Those of the dead who were good people while on earth become Cloud People after death. They have a round, nearly flat tray made of cotton, called *bac'taawota*, in which they carry water; another in which lightening is carried; and a third in which thunder is kept ... They lift them up to the wind, and water sprinkled from them causes rain. They ... take water out of these trays with their hands, and sprinkle it out into the air, but never throw out all of it.

The ancestors residing in the Grand Canyon thus play a vital role in the reciprocity between living Hopis and their ancestors that is essential to Hopi religion (Hieb 1979:580; Loftin 1986:185-191; Thompson 1945:541). As understood by the anthropologist Louis Hieb (1994a: 19-27) the elementary structure of Hopi religion includes four basic concepts: (1) a universe divided between an Upper World of the living and a Lower World of the spirits or dead; (2) the sipapu, a channel of communication and exchange between the Upper and Lower Worlds; (3) the concept of reciprocity wherein prayers and prayer offerings are made to the spirits of the Lower World who are obligated to respond with gifts, the most important of which is moisture; and (4) religious specialists or priests who mediate between the occupants of the Upper and Lower Worlds. In explicating the spiritual relationship between these elements, Hieb (1994a:20) wrote, "This world and the world of the spirits are transformations of each other and yet are of the same essential substance." As Hieb (1994a:24) observed, "As 'messengers of the gods,' the katsinas come to the Upper World to receive prayers and prayer offerings and to reciprocate with assurance and gifts of food."

In discussing Hopi culture, Titiev (1944:177) concluded that the Hopi belief in life after death as merely a stage in the continuous cycle of events means that Hopis regard their dead not as outsiders but as powerful members of society whose sphere of activity has been changed from the upper to the lower realm. Titiev (1944:178) astutely observed that the Hopi have nothing to fear if an essential religious ceremony is about to lapse since in the underworld the different religious sodalities perform the same rites as the world above.

Eggan (1994:10) astutely observed that, "The equation of the dead with clouds and rain, by means of the concept of katsinas, provides a system in which the dead maintain their interest in the living and continue to help their relatives by sending rain." Thus, as Kennard (1937:491) observed, "In every ceremony, the spirits of the dead are involved, whether as kadcina, clouds, or those living in the underworld."

Deceased Hopis return through the *sipapu* from which all mankind originally emerged on earth. Consequently, the underworld is regarded not only as the place of the soul's genesis before it was embodied but also as the ultimate home to which the soul of a dead person will go (Titiev 1944:176). The *Sipapuni* and *Öngtupqa* are thus sacred places with preeminent importance in Hopi culture.

Since Hopi ancestors reside there, the Hopi are concerned for the welfare of the Grand Canyon. In the words of Leigh Jenkins (1991:3), "The Hopi people believe the Grand Canyon is where we reside after death. All of our ancestors have returned to the Grand Canyon and now spiritually occupy it. The presence of our ancestors makes the Grand Canyon an especially holy place, requiring proper spiritual recognition and respect for the land."

WUWTSIM (MANHOOD INITIATION) AS RELATED TO SIPAPUNI AND ÖNGTUPQA

The *Wuwtsim* (Manhood Initiation) is sometimes referred to as the Tribal Initiation Ceremony. The *Wuwtsim*, has important associations with the *Sipapuni* and *Öngtupqa*. These associations include a number of vital cultural beliefs essential to the Hopi Way. In addition, the *Wuwtsim*, especially as practiced on Third Mesa, traditionally entailed a ritual pilgrimage to the *Sipapuni* and Hopi Salt Mine.

Young men traditionally underwent *Wuwtsim* initiation between adolescence and marriage, usually between the ages of 15 and 20.⁷⁵ Prior to the 1940s, the rite was practically universal for the entire male population (Titiev 1944:130). The ceremony, collectively known as the *Wuwtsim*, is divided into four distinct branches called Singers (*Taatawkyam*), Horns (*Aa'alt*), Agaves (*Kwaakwant*), and *Wuwtsim* (Nequatewa 1931:1-2). Titiev referred to the entire ceremony as the "Tribal Initiation" to distinguish the ceremony in its entirety from the *Wuwtsim* branch of the rituals. Adult status was gained by joining any one of the four divisions. The Tribal Initiation was not an annual ceremony, but took place whenever there was a sufficient number of candidates on hand. The *Wuwtsim* has been described as "... a birth into adult life" (Frigout 1979:573-574) because it marked the transition from childhood to adulthood.

While the word *Wuwtsim* is generally translated as "Tribal Initiation" or "Manhood Initiation," its etymology is not well understood by non-Indians (Malotki 1983:453). Hopis point out this fact protects the integrity of the religious concept and philosophy of *Wuwtsim*. Some linguists have suggested there might be a connection between *Wuwtsim* and the Hopi word "*wuu*," meaning "old," but the full interpretation of the term has not been revealed.

Hopi scholar Edmund Nequatewa (1931:1-2) noted that the *Wuwtsim*, held in November, is the first of the winter ceremonies. According to Nequatewa, "This ceremony portrays what happened in the Underworld before the Hopi people emerged, and what they did to get out. Tradition says the Gwa-gwan-da [*Kwan*] play the most important part then, and that is why they still do most of the ceremony." Anthropologists who have studied the *Wuwtsim* agree with Nequatewa's assessment that the ceremony commemorates the Hopi emergence from the *Sipapuni* by portraying what happened in the underworld and how the Hopi managed to escape (Lockett 1933:40; Simmons 1942:19-20).

⁷⁵ Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma notes this is not necessarily accurate for Third Mesa.

The public aspects of the *Wuwtsim* initiation ceremony have been described by several anthropologists (Fewkes 1900; Parsons 1923; Titiev 1944:130-141). As Titiev (1944:133) pointed out, however, anthropological understanding of the ritual is limited by the fact that the Hopi have never allowed any non-Indian ethnologist to view the entire ceremony. Even well-known, early anthropologists such as Stephen and Fewkes were barred from the kiva during key parts of the ceremony that the Hopi kept private.

The Kwan's role in the *Wuwtsim* is regarded with "dread and awe" (Titiev 1944:134-136), in part because of their association with *Ma'saw*. During the fourth night of *Wuwtsim* ceremony, a path to *Maski* (Grand Canyon) is established and the dead are invited into the village where a feast has been prepared for them. The spirits from *Maski* participate in ceremonies conducted in the kivas they had belonged to when they were alive.

Titiev (1944:136) concluded that, "... the main aims of the Tribal Initiation are: first, to confer manhood on boys; second, to establish co-ordination between living and dead members of the societies; and third, to renew the contacts between the populations of this world and the next." He added that the Tribal Initiation has "... a powerful effect on neophytes who are being made aware that man is born out of the Underworld and returns there when life is ended on earth. It is to affirm the continuity of life after death that the spirits of the deceased are supposed to present when the youths are 're-born' as men" (Titiev 1944:139).

Loftin (1991:30) provided a similar explanation for *Wuwtsim* when he wrote, "The initiation of Hopi youth into adulthood involves the experience of their origin as people. In other words, to be a Hopi is to reexperience the sacred history of their world. The Hopi ... complete their initiation into adulthood by understanding that a spiritual dimension pervades their world ..." The *Wuwtsim* thus introduces Hopi children to beliefs about death, including the return of ancestors as Cloud People in the form of Katsina (Loftin 1991:51).

As Thompson and Joseph (1947:43) described, the *Wuwtsim* ceremony "... emphasizes spectacularly the Hopi concept of the male principle in the creation of life, the Hopi concept of death and rebirth of the individual in the Underworld where he continues to live in a manner similar to that in the Upper-world, and the Emergence of the tribe." Titiev (1944:134) similarly observed that the natal aspects of *Wuwtsim* are complemented by mortuary features.

While the main part of the *Wuwtsim* was conducted in November, the culmination of the ceremony came the following fall during a pilgrimage to collect salt. Hopis from Third Mesa traditionally made a pilgrimage to collect salt from the Hopi Salt Mine in *Öngtupqa*, while Hopis from First and Second Mesa generally traveled to the Zuni Salt Lake in New Mexico to collect salt (Ferguson 1992). This pilgrimage to collect salt comprised a test of manhood and opportunity to purify the new *Wuwtsim* initiate.⁷⁶ Pilgrimages into *Öngtupqa* also provided a means to impart additional ritual knowledge about the *Sipapuni* and *Maski*.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, p. 34.

Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, January 21, 1992, pp. 1-2.

Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, p. 5.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 11.

Paul Saukie interview, August 17, 1992, p. 2.

Ethnohistoric information about Hopi pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* is detailed in Chapter 7. At this point, what should be noted is that archaeological evidence in the form of petroglyphs found along the trail to *Öngtupqa* provide evidence that the Hopi have been conducting salt pilgrimages from at least the 14th century (Adams 1986:25). Archaeologists have suggested that the Hopi's periodic pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon represent symbolic recognition of the historical ties to the area their ancestors developed when they inhabited that region in prehistoric times (Swartz 1965a:481, 1969:39).

Titiev (1937:244) observed that the reason there is a ceremonial qualification to participate in pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon is that the area is located in the vicinity of the home of the dead (*Maski*) and therefore lies in dangerous territory. Because one of the principal aims of the *Wuwtsim* is to fit men for their proper places in the after-life, only those who have passed through *Wuwtsim* rites are eligible to visit the home of the dead.

The Hopi pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* associated with the *Wuwtsim* are often referred to as "Salt Pilgrimages" by non-Hopi writers. However, as Eiseman (1959:31) noted,

... the Hopi do not regard the obtaining of salt as the really important feature of a salt-gathering expedition. The expedition is made into a very sacred place, full of dangers and fears. To come through the attendant trials, to visit the original sipapu, to make offerings at the many shrines, all these would bring the participant good luck and happiness. The salt itself appears to be a tangible piece of evidence that one had made the trip successfully and with a good heart. The village always welcomed the successful salt gatherers, feeling that the whole village would benefit from the offerings made to the gods, and from the good things accruing to those who made the trip, by a sort of diffusion process.

Upon returning from a pilgrimage to *Öngtupqa*, the salt gatherers would approach their village and signal their families with a fire. They would then continue on into the village where they were received ceremonially. Following this, they had their hair washed with yucca suds, and they were given a ceremonial name in commemoration of the event (Eiseman 1959:32; Whiteley 1992:211). Hairwashing also accompanies the other major changes in life status, i.e., birth, initiations, and death.

With respect to pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa*, Bradfield concluded (1973:45), "Clearly there is an element of 'danger' in the situation, in that the salt deposits are located near the home of the dead and to fetch salt requires special precautions (e.g., abstinence from sexual intercourse); but the fact that the head-washing is followed by name-giving indicates that the element of 'danger' is outweighed, in Hopi thinking, by that of the change of status involved." A visit to the *Sipapuni* and *Maski* (or Zuni Salt Lake) reinforced the esoteric knowledge imparted during the *Wuwtsim* ceremony, marking the final transition from childhood into manhood.

Eldridge Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 2.

⁷⁷ Emory Sekaquaptewa interview, January 14, 1992, p. 3.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 11.

Transcript of interview of Simon Polingyumtewa on July 30, 1991, conducted by Eric Polingyouma on the Hopi Indian Reservation, pp. 2-4. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmobi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Simon Polingyumtewa interview, July 30, 1991.]

RITUAL VISITS TO THE GRAND CANYON FOR PURPOSES OTHER THAN WUWTSIM

The Hopi have traditionally made ritual visits to the Grand Canyon for purposes other than the "salt pilgrimage" associated with the *Wuwtsim* (Ahlstrom et al 1993:82-83). Hopis from First Mesa and Second Mesa, as well as Third Mesa, have gone to *Öngtupqa* to gather salt for domestic use (Fewkes 1894; Harvey 1970:70-71).⁷⁸ As with the pilgrimages conducted for the culmination of *Wuwtsim*, the expeditions to gather salt for domestic use would include ritual activities and the placement of offerings at shrines. Consequently, these expeditions were religious undertakings. In addition, Hopis from all three mesas would make special visits to the Grand Canyon to make offerings at the *Sipapuni* and other shrines and to collect natural resources for use in the Hopi religion.⁷⁹ These special visits to *Öngtupqa* for purposes other than *Wuwtsim* have not been extensively documented by anthropologists because the Hopi have chosen to keep these activities private.

ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN THE GRAND CANYON, SALT, AND OTHER ASPECTS OF HOPI CULTURE

The importance of *Öngtupqa*, and the salt collected there, are evident in the way they are associated with other aspects of Hopi culture. For instance, Yava (1978:73-81) described his initiation into the One Horn Society at First Mesa, commenting on that fact that the initiates were tested by not being allowed to drink water for four days. During this period, the society members in the kiva

... would always be talking about water, how it flowed down the Little Colorado, and what such and such a lake looked like. It was for our benefit, of course. Old man Charlie was always talking about Grand Canyon and all the water that went through there, and how he used to swim in it when he was young. It made us pretty mad.

Yava's comment is significant for two reasons. First, it indicates that Hopis from First Mesa had been to the Grand Canyon, and were able to describe the water flowing down *Pisisvayu* because they had swam in the river. Second, it shows how the Grand Canyon and the Colorado River are conceptually used in kiva teachings.

Bradfield (1973:40), drawing upon the work of Titiev (1937) and Beaglehole (1937), observed that the rituals associated with Hopi salt expeditions are closely linked with those associated with childbirth, death, and burial. Bradfield (1973:41) concluded that there is a,

... parallel between the man's return from a salt expedition and the woman's emergence from child-birth. Both are periods of danger: out of which the man passes by having his hair ceremonially washed and new names bestowed upon him, and out of which the woman passes, again by having her hair washed, and by having

⁷⁸ Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, pp. 2-3.

⁷⁹ Polingyouma, Salt Trail through Black Point.

Eric Polingyouma, Hopi Salt Trail to Grand Canyon Salt, An Alternate Route. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Eric Polingyouma, Grand Canyon Salt, An Alternate Route.]

her body 'fumigated' in juniper steam. In the rites surrounding death and burial, we shall find these two sequences brought into juxtaposition.

In Hopi culture, the life stages of birth, maturation into adulthood, and death are integrated through similar rites of passage, and these rituals are conceptually and physically linked to the *Sipapuni* and *Öngtupqa*. The Hopi people came out of the *Sipapuni* and it is to the *Sipapuni* they return after death. The ancestors who reside in *Öngtupqa* continue to help their descendants on the Hopi Mesas.

The periods of mandatory fasting from salt demonstrate its ritual importance in Hopi culture (Stephen 1936:36, 272, 290, 776, 804, 811, 850; Hunter 1940:44-46). For instance, the ritual observances of the *Wuwtsim* include an abstinence from salt for 4 days on Second Mesa (Seaman 1993:32, 77), and 16 days on Third Mesa. Salt is also taboo during confinement in the kiva during fraternity initiations, the Sûs-tala initiation, Powamuy, katsina initiations, and puberty rites for girls (Voth 1901:Pl. LIII; Loftin 1991:49; Curtis 1922:47-48, 116, 172, 221; Murdock 1934:343; Beaglehole 1937:74).

PRAYER OFFERINGS FOR ÖNGTUPQA AND PISISVAYU

Öngtupqa is honored in Hopi prayer offerings made at the Hopi Mesas. In the late nineteenth century, for instance, offerings of food, prayer feathers, and tobacco were placed in a crevice in the cliff west of a village on First Mesa in the month of June. Stephen (1936:473) stated, "This is the food offering to the long ago and the far away, to the si'papü in the Colorado Grand Cañon, near the salt deposits."

The practice of offering prayers to *Öngtupqa* by placing prayer feathers and offerings in shrines on the Hopi Mesas continues to the present day.⁸⁰ Many of these prayers are offered during the Soyalung Ceremony, which Nequatewa (1931:2) described as the Winter Solstice Ceremony or Prayer-Offering Ceremony. Hopi cultural advisors explained that Hopis make prayer feathers at the winter solstice and deposit them at shrines through *Hopitutskwa* so that when the ancestors come out

⁸⁰ Patrick Lomawaima interviews, August 29, 1991, pp. 1-2; January 28, 1992, p. 6.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 7.

Interview with First Mesa leaders, November 13, 1991, pp. 2-3.

Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 29-30.

Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quaverna, and Cedric Kewaninveya interview, July 15, 1991, p. 2.

Simon Polingyumtewa in Transcript of Portion of Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team Meeting, July 17, 1991, Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, Arizona. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Transcript from CRATT meeting, July 17, 1991].

Eric Polingyouma notes from interview of Valjean Joshevama, Sr., on July 2, 1991, conducted by Eric Polingyouma, on the Hopi Indian Reservation. Ms. on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991].

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Memorandum on Subject to Trip Report on Examination of Mt. Graham, p. 3. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office.

of the Grand Canyon in the form of rain clouds they will be able to look down and locate the shrine to bestow it with rain.

As Wilton Kooyahoema said,⁸¹

We make all the prayer sticks from the Sipapuni, from the salt mine and places where they usually leave their prayers when they go down and come back. On our ceremonial in the winter time, we do the same thing. We think way back to from where we came up and we start making the pahos all the way back to that and where we are right now. It is very important to us ... All these things should be protected.

We do that every year. Every winter we have to do that. Not just any other time ... We think back to that place. We do not walk it but we are praying to do the same thing for the places. It has been named from down there, all the way back over to the villages. It is all in the prayers ... Along the salt trail, from Oraibi on, all the way down to the canyon.

In addition to making offerings for *Öngtupqa*, some Hopis also make offerings to the Colorado River. The *Patkingyam* (Water Divided Clan), for instance, deposits prayer feathers in Colorado River.⁸²

The 5 Hopi GCES river trips undertaken for this project were all conducted with rituals to open and close the trip.⁸³ In addition, the Hopi on the river trips left prayer offerings at many places along route they traveled. These rituals were conducted out of respect for the canyon.⁸⁴

The fact that the *Sipapuni* and *Öngtupqa* are named in ceremonial references, songs, and prayers makes them mysterious, sacred, and powerful places for the Hopi.⁸⁵ The prayer offerings deposits in the places, as well as at shrines on the Hopi mesas, reinforces the spiritual significance of the Grand Canyon for the Hopi people.

⁸¹ Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 20-21.

⁸² Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 10.

⁸³ Transcript of interview of Harlan Williams on December 22, 1993, conducted by T. J. Ferguson at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, pp. 15-16. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993.]

⁸⁴ Notes of T. J. Ferguson taken during interview of Owen Numkena, Sr., conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Walter Hamana, July 3, 1994 at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, pp. 2-3. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Owen Numkena interview, July 3, 1994.]

⁸⁵ Emory Sekaquaptewa interview, January 14, 1992, p. 2.

ÖNGTUPQA, HOPITUTSKWA, AND THE HOMVI'KYA TO PAY HOMAGE TO THE LAND

As explained earlier in this chapter, when the Hopi fulfilled their religious pact with *Ma'saw*, *Mastutsqwa* (*Ma'saw's* land) became *Hopitutskwa* (Hopi land). Even though the Hopi's legal jurisdiction has been reduced to a relatively small Indian reservation, the religious leaders of the Hopi continue to pay ritual homage to all of *Hopitutskwa* by undertaking a pilgrimage to visit a series of shrines in prominent places on the Hopi ritual landscape. Several shrines located along the Grand Canyon figure prominently into this pilgrimage.

Hopi cultural advisors do not conceptualize the series of shrines that are used to pay ritual homage to *Hopitutskwa* as a boundary. Rather they think of it as a *homvi'kya*, a term which derives from two words.⁸⁶ *Hooma* is the sacred corn meal that Hopis use for prayer offerings. *Vi'ikya* is a route or place, an actual geographic designation of something. A *homvi'kya* therefore refers to a route used in the offering of prayer meal (Jenkins et al. 1994:8). The shrines that are visited on the *homvi'kya* are used to pay homage to a greater domain of stewardship and all of *Hopitutskwa*.⁸⁷

The Hopi have a long-standing tradition about the extent their lands and the rights that *Ma'saw* bestowed upon them to use this area (Kotchungva 1938; Lomahaftewa 1933; MacGregor 1938). In some accounts, the Hopi have claimed their stewardship extends over the entire North American continent from ocean to ocean; in others they claim a more conservative area defined as all the lands through which their ancestors migrated after the emergence (Page 1940:29). The Bear Clan of Third Mesa possesses a stone tablet which is said to demonstrate ownership of the land. This tablet has two snakes along its edge which symbolize the two rivers that mark the boundaries of Hopi land, i.e., the Colorado River and the Rio Grande (Malotki and Lomatuway'ma 1987:74-75; Yamada 1957:2).

In the 19th century, the Hopi found Anglos and other Indians beginning to move onto their traditional lands. Through the acts and omissions of the United States, the Hopi gradually lost control over a large portion of their aboriginal lands. Even after the establishment of the Hopi Indian Reservation in 1882 (Jones 1950), Navajos continued to settle on the land the Hopi thought had been set aside for them. Beginning in the 1890s, Hopi leaders began to formally petition the Federal government to protect their lands from further encroachment (Stephen n.d.b). These petitions continued into the 20th century. Many of these petitions contain references to salt or the Grand Canyon.

For instance, On April 8, 1930, Hopi leaders petitioned the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the return of "... our land we love so well ... for the benefit of our future generations." This petition includes the statement that (Hopi Tribe 1930),

⁸⁶ Notes of T. J. Ferguson from Meeting of Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, May 30, 1995, Mishongnovi. Ms. on file at Institute of the North American West, Tucson.

⁸⁷ Notes of T. J. Ferguson from interview of Dalton Taylor on July 7, 1993, conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Merwin Kooyahoema at the Cultural Preservation Office, Honahni Building, Kykotsmovi, pp. 1-2. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Dalton Taylor interview, July 7, 1993.]

Max Taylor and Micah Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 40.

For centuries the Hopi shrines at the distance points (it is better shown on the accompanying map), which borders the Hopi people from every direction, marked and designated the Hopis' tribal land boundary lines. Before the other peoples came the Hopis' essential needs at away places were all obtainable. For example: wild game and fowls was plentiful, timber for building purposes could be gotten from either Sunset Mts in the west and up north of here, salt and etc.

A map drawn by Fred Kabotie accompanied the 1930 petition. This map depicts the traditional Hopi lands as extending along the Colorado River from Tokonavi (Navajo Mountain) on the east to the Hopi Salt Mine on the west (Figure 8).⁸⁸ These traditional lands constitute the exclusive use area of the Hopi, the *kiisonvi* (plaza or heartland) of Hopitutskwa.

Throughout the 1930s, Hopi leaders continued to press the Federal government for land claims related to *Hopitutskwa*. In 1939, a meeting was held with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on extending the Hopi Indian Reservation. Peter Nuvamsa, Bryon P. Adams, Fred Lomayesva, and Samuel Shingoitwa presented a map of the area the Hopi people felt was theirs, an area that extended to the north to the Rainbow Bridge and west to the Colorado River. Nuvamsa explained that (Office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1939),

That is the sacred area. We have taken into consideration how we might live after the settlement of this area, and how we may obtain our timber, salt, and game in this area. Inside this area is a shrine to be of main purpose to the Hopi people ... the Hopis feel they have a right to this area as shown on the map because they still have in their hearts that they have controlled this area and as stated, it involves their ceremonies.

The Hopi continued to press their claims to land and two separate Hopi claims were filed when the Indian Claims Commission was established after World War II. In Docket 196, filed in 1951, the Hopi Tribe claimed their aboriginal lands extended from the confluence of the Colorado and Little Colorado Rivers in a southeasterly direction up the Little Colorado River to its confluence with the Zuni River, and then in a northerly direction to the San Juan River, where it then extended downstream to the Colorado River and along the Colorado River to the point of beginning (Hopi Tribe n.d.:28). These lands, of course, did not describe *Hopitutskwa* per se but the area of Hopis claimed sovereignty over in the mid-nineteenth century. These lands are depicted in Figure 9, along with the area the Indian Claims Commission judicially established as being exclusively used and occupied by the Hopi. In 1970, the Hopi Tribe received a monetary award of \$5,000,000 as compensation for this land.

⁸⁸ Eric Polingyouma (personal communication, December 28, 1996) notes that at the time that Fred Kabotie drew this map he either did not know the geographical location of shrines or chose not to depict them on the map. Mr. Kabotie subsequently shared more specific information about the location of shrines with Mr. Polingyouma.

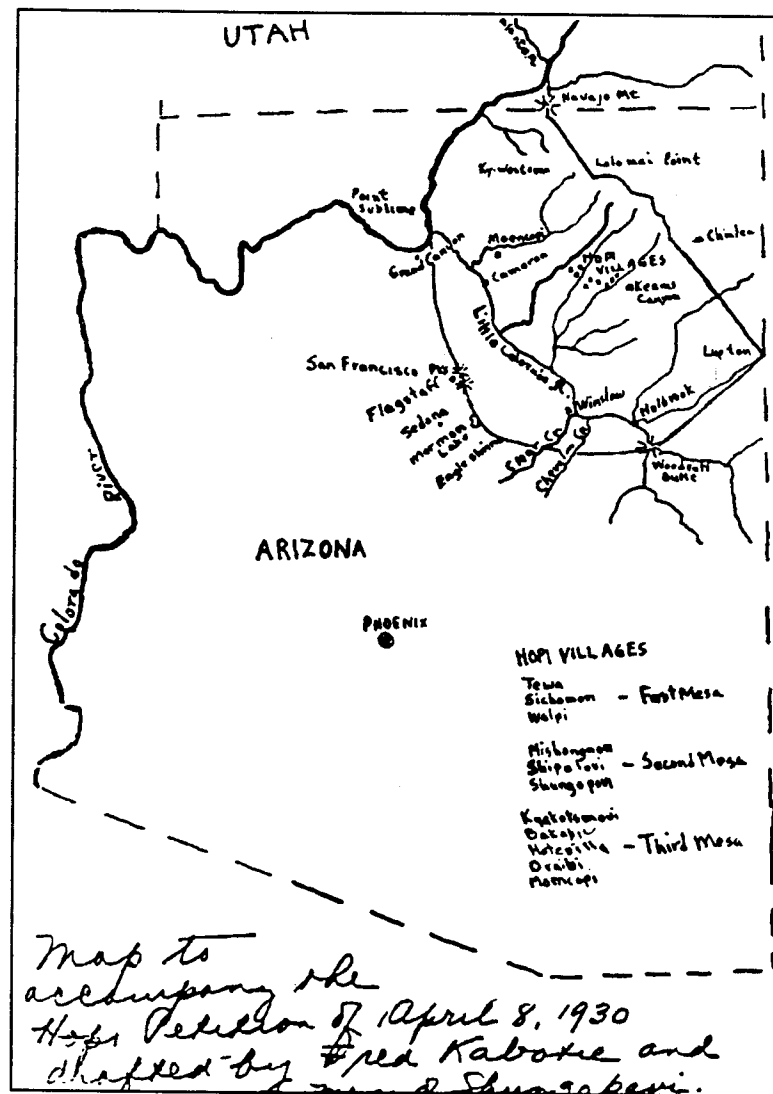


Figure 8. Depiction of Hopitutskwa by Fred Kabotie. Source: Hopi Tribe (1930).

The village of Shungopavi filed a separate claim before the Indian Claims Commission, Docket 210 (Indian Claims Commission 1951). This claim was accompanied by a copy of the map provided to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1930 and 1939 (Figure 8), delineating ten shrines that form "boundary marks". The Shungopavi claim included an eloquent statement on "The Land and Its Purpose" which has been widely quoted by anthropologists, historians, and journalists (e.g., James 1974:102-104; Page and Page 1982:216-217; Eggan 1986; Adams 1989; Whiteley 1989:1-2; Clemmer 1993:80; Ferguson and Dongoske 1994:34-35). The Shungopavi claim explicitly stated that "It is upon this land that we made trails to our salt supply." The statement described the deep attachment the Hopi people have for their land by observing that,

The Hopi Tusqua (land) is our love and always will be, and it is the land upon which our leader fixes and tells the dates for our religious life. Our land, our religion, and our life are one, and our leader, with humbleness, understanding and determination, performs his duty to us by keeping them as one and thus insuring prosperity and security for the people.

In 1957, Shungopavi withdrew its land claim when village leaders learned that the Indian Claims Commission was only going to award a monetary settlement and not return any land. At that point, the Shungopavi claim was incorporated into the more inclusive claim of the Hopi Tribe.

During the litigation of claims by the Indian Claims Commission, the Hopi continued to articulate their concerns to Federal officials. At the 1955 "Hopi Hearings" conducted by the BIA, Hermequaftewa described the shrines situated around *Hopitutskwa*. He stated (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1955:86), "Our land is divided among [us,] our shrines are established in the various directions for the purpose of prayer altars where we are to offer our prayers ... These shrines are marked at San Francisco Peaks, Navajo Mountain, and at a place they call Salt down south at Zuni."

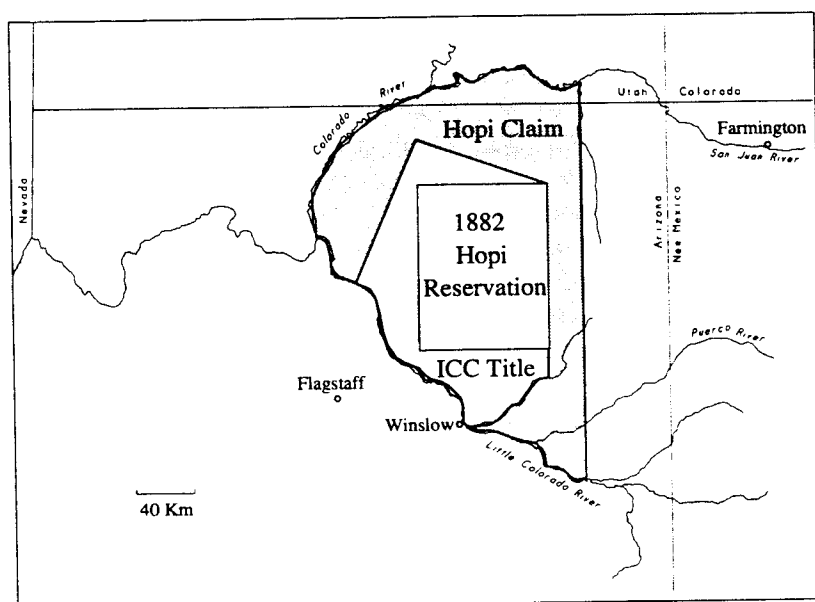


Figure 9. Area claimed by the Hopi Tribe and area of aboriginal lands as determined by the Indian Claims Commission (ICC).

Peter Nuvamsa read into the record of the 1955 "Hopi Hearings" the petition that Shungopavi had submitted to the Indian Claims Commission in 1951, mentioning the map that accompanied the petition (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1955:110-114). Nuvamsa (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1955:111) referred to the Hopi land ("Tutsquat") as "fixed in our traditional life and which we must use in our traditional way in carrying out traditional practices and regulations."

In 1955, Charlie Homehongva described a Hopi "tradition which in our minds is believed and to our thinking is true". He said (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1955:148-149),

We all know there was a meeting called many years ago on Old Oraibi. There the representatives of the villages met and they took into consideration this land question and as they talked they brought up the fact that there was a generation of children growing up and that they had to be cared for and they had come specifically for the

purpose of trying to establish land that would be sufficient to take care of our future generation of children, our own children, our nephews, our nieces, our grandchildren. So they said "Loloma" - he was chief at Old Oraibi - "You designate your area first." Loloma designated as a starting point Navajo Mountain. He said that will never go away. Then it followed the ridge on to the Grand Canyon up to the point where there was a spring that leads up near the route that goes to Supai Canyon and that was the road he designated for himself. And then they turned to Seetpella, the representative from Shungopavy. He designated the area up and around Williams - that is now Williams, Arizona. From there he went south to Turquoise Lakes and also included San Francisco Peaks because that was their eagle hunting area. That was the area he designated. It came then next to Sipaulovi's turn. Takanilsie - he was the spokesman for that village. He continued from where Shungopavy left off, taking in the mountain ridge south of Winslow over to the Woodruff mountains. Then came Mishongnovi's turn and its representative was Tawimoke. He designated the area from the Woodruff mountains on east to the Salt below Zuni and said that Salt area there was to be held open for both Sipaulavi and Mishongnovi so that they could get their salt there. From that point they came north to a place on this side of Ganado which they called Red Point. There they drew a plaque on the rocks. Then came Walpi's turn. Their spokesman was Iss. He continued the line from Red Point on the north to a point beyond Burnt Corn. That was the area he chose for his people. Following came Beeva, a representative of the Tewa village. He continued from that point and joined the land again at Navajo Mountain. This was the land that they designated for themselves to be used by their people. ... These are the points that were made at that village. I respect them.

Analysis of eighteen historical maps and descriptions of *Hopitutskwa* has documented that there is variation in the place names and shrines associated with the demarcation of Hopi lands (Jenkins et al. 1994). These sources use forty-two different place names to describe Hopi lands. Several of the place names, of course, signify the same or very similar places, e.g., *Pisivayu* (the Colorado River), *Potavey'taqa* (Point Sublime), and *Kooninhahawpi* (Havasupai Descent Place), which are all related to the Grand Canyon. A long segment of the Colorado River is always included in every description of *Hopitutskwa* (e.g., Murphy 1911; Lomahaftewa 1933; Hopi Tribe 1979:5; Page 1940:29).

While there is a substantial overlap in all of the descriptions of *Hopitutskwa*, the differences in the areas that are described are important. These differences stem from variation in the oral traditions of different villages and religious societies. Each Hopi clan and each Hopi village has its own traditions about *Hopitutskwa* and its meaning in Hopi life. While all Hopis share certain fundamental beliefs, much of Hopi religious knowledge is esoteric and not shared with uninitiated people or Hopis from other clans or other villages. Any attempt to delineate a single set of boundaries for *Hopitutskwa* thus conflicts to some degree with the reality of how knowledge is distributed and used for religious purposes within the Hopi Tribe.

In evaluating the various "boundary marks" used to describe the extent of *Hopitutskwa*, it should be kept in mind, as Emory Sekaquaptewa (1972:246-247) has pointed out, that the concept of defining boundaries has a rational basis in Anglo legal precepts but this notion does not coincide well with the way the Hopi traditionally view their land and history. To a certain degree, the characterization of the extent of *Hopitutskwa* in terms of "boundary marks" is related to the rhetorical

conventions of non-Hopi legal claims. In the opinion of Hopi cultural advisors, religion and faith have no boundaries; boundaries are the result of dealing with the Federal government.⁸⁹

Nonetheless, in recent years it has become increasingly common for *Hopitutskwa* to be literally characterized as a geo-political boundary of Hopi lands demarcated by a series of shrines (Whiteley 1989a; Clemmer 1993:79-82; James 1974:102-104; Euler 1988:6-7; Page 1982). This conception of *Hopitutskwa*, depicted in Figure 10, includes the stretch of the Colorado River from *Tokonavi* (Navajo Mountain) to *Kooninhahawpi* (Supai Descent Place) near Point Sublime. It should be reiterated, however, that from the contemporary perspective of the cultural advisors to the Hopi Tribe's Cultural Preservation Office, the shrines that are associated with *Hopitutskwa* are not a boundary per se but a pilgrimage route that plays homage to a larger land base (Jenkins et al. 1994).

In discussing Hopi land, Whiteley (1989:50) observed that because the Hopi have "... an eternally binding, sacred obligation to take care of it for the supernatural owner...", *Tutskwa* is not reducible to "real estate." Residence, ancestral connections, and religious beliefs form a strong bond between the Hopi and their land. Similarly, Eggan (1994:15) observed that "Hopi religion is central to their life and for centuries has involved their land."

As Eggan (1994:15) pointed out, the shrines used to mark *Hopitutskwa* encompass the geographical areas inhabited by Hopi ancestors immediately before the "gathering of the clans" on the Hopi Mesas. The Hopi have long made pilgrimages to various ruins where their ancestors lived during their migrations. These pilgrimages are conducted to watch over the ancestral villages, to keep the spirits alive as boundary guardians and to notify the ancestors when major ceremonials are to be performed. In recent historical times, however, pilgrimage activities were made difficult by the Navajo and other tribes hostile to the Hopi. Nonetheless, in 1974, a group of religious leaders from Second Mesa conducted a pilgrimage to shrines to pay homage to Hopi lands (Geertz 1984:230-231), and this pilgrimage has been repeated numerous times since then.

In 1978, this "*Tutskwa* pilgrimage" was conducted by George Nasafotie, Sr. (Shungopavi), Valjean Joshevama (Oraibi), Alfred Joshongva (Shungopavi), Percy Lomaquahu (Hotevilla), Dalton Taylor (Shungopavi), Alph Secakuku (BIA Hopi Agency Superintendent), Nathan Begay (BIA Tribal Operations), and Merwin Kooyahoema (*Qua' Toqti*). This pilgrimage included a stop at an offering place near the top of the South Rim in the vicinity of the Watchtower in the Grand Canyon National Park. Here where prayers were offered to the *Sipapuni* and "*Ong-wuit*" (Salt Woman) that lie in the canyon below (Kooyahoema 1978:1). This pilgrimage also made offerings at "*Ko-nin-ha-how-pi*" ("the place where the Konina people descend") in Supai Canyon, where there are a ruin and a petroglyph of a Hopi plaque design representing a migration symbol.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Ferrell Secakuku in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT meeting, February 3, 1992, p. 9.

⁹⁰ Dalton Taylor interview, July 7, 1993, pp. 1-2.

Leigh Jenkins interview, August 26, 1992, p. 10.

Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1993, pp. 6-8.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 40-42.

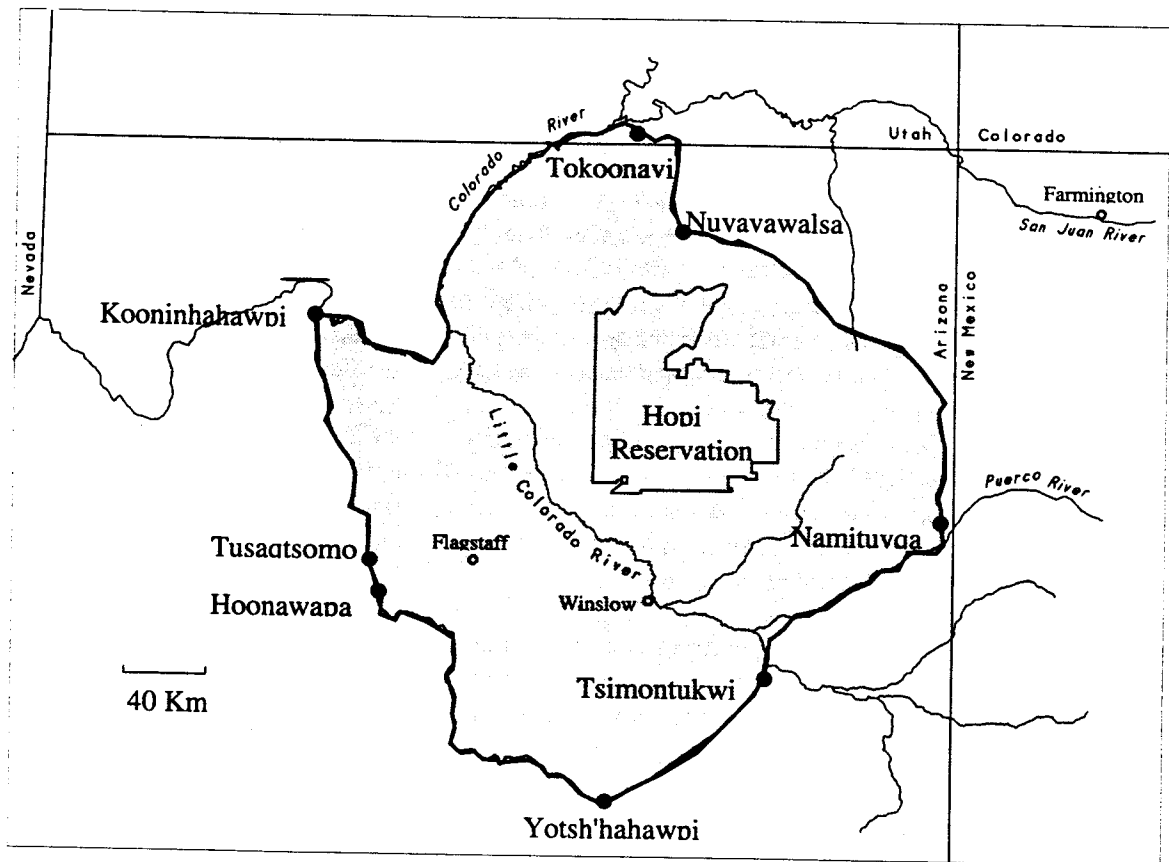


Figure 10. Hopi *Tutskwa* (after Whiteley 1989:Map 2; Page 1982:611).

This pilgrimage was conducted again in 1980 by 8 Hopi priests, 2 drivers, and two journalists (*Qua Töqti* 1989; Page 1982:606-629; Page and Page 1982:205-231). At this time, Hopi priests again made offerings for the Salt Mine at a location near the top of the South Rim, as well as at “Co Nin Ha-hao-pi” or the Suapi Descent Place. Page (1982:607) described the shrines visited during this pilgrimage, observing that the “... sacred sites themselves are unnoticeable, merely locations near rocks or bushes where generations of Hopis have made offerings.” Page (1982:612) added that “The pilgrimages have been made for centuries and will continue - expressions, the Hopi explain, of their continuing sense of responsibility for this area.” As reported in a Hopi tribal newspaper (*Qua Töqti* 1989:1), “It is these lands that give the Hopi their special place in the universe, the confidence in their identity which they require to retain their unique and longlasting culture, while, at the same time, adapting elements of modern western society.”

One religious leader from Shungopavi who has participated in all of the recent pilgrimages to the shrines used to pay homage to *Hopitutskwa* does not think that these shrines constitute the “boundary” of Hopi lands, only a symbolic representation of them. In his analogy, the area delineated by these shrines represents the “plaza” of the Hopi heartlands, implying that there is a

larger "village" of Hopi lands lying outside of it (Jenkins et al. 1994:8).⁹¹ *Pisisvayu* and *Öngtupqa* form one side of this "plaza," indicating their importance in Hopi culture.⁹²

Outside of the *homvi'kya* defining the "plaza of religion" are four other circles of Hopi land, the last of which includes the entire continent and the areas to the north and south.⁹³ Knowledgeable Hopi advisors decry the reduction of the concept of *homvi'kya* to "land claims" because these claims as they have been adjudicated in the courts do not adequately represent the stewardship Hopis have over the land as a result of practicing their religion.

OTHER ASPECTS OF THE HOPI CULTURE RELATED TO THE GRAND CANYON

The Grand Canyon has associations with several other aspects of Hopi culture. These include depictions of *paakiw* (fish) in ritual contexts and the use of the *Sipapuni* as a design element in secular fine arts.

Paakiw (Fish) in Kiva Murals

Fish appear in murals painted on the walls of kivas at Hopi sites occupied in the 16th century. The size of these fish suggest they may depict aquatic animals that Hopis saw during visits to the Colorado River or the lower stretch of the Little Colorado River.

At the ancestral Hopi village of Kawaika'a, three fish appear as design elements on the murals painted on the right wall of Room 4. They are depicted with white bodies with and scales indicated by black cross-hatching (Figure 11). On one fish the fins and tail are painted in red. One of the fish has what appears to be a dragon fly in its mouth. As described by Smith (1952:222),

These fish are all drawn with extreme nicety, the scales, fins, tails, and long snouts being carefully and realistically shown. Their general character makes them look like pike or gar or some similar fish that might have lived in the Little Colorado River and so have been familiar to the inhabitants of Kawaika-a. It is said by local inhabitants that pike or gar have been taken from that river in modern times near Cameron ...

In discussing Hopi iconography, Smith (1952:218, 222) documented that "Fish are said by the Hopi to be one of the pets of the Cloud kachina, Omauwû, but almost never are they depicted in ceremonial paraphernalia, either by the Hopi or by other Pueblo groups." He noted there are some instances of fish in Pueblo pictography from the Gila river and a cliff near Sikyatki, and that they occur occasionally on ancient pottery such as Classic Mimbres Black-on-White. Three or four natural fish occur in the murals at the late prehistoric site of Kuaua on the Rio Grande in New Mexico. Smith also noted that one instance of a fish on a Hopi kachina was reported by Fewkes (1903:163-164).

⁹¹ Dalton Taylor, personal communication, 1993.

⁹² Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 43.

⁹³ Eric Polingyouma, personal communication, December 28, 1996.

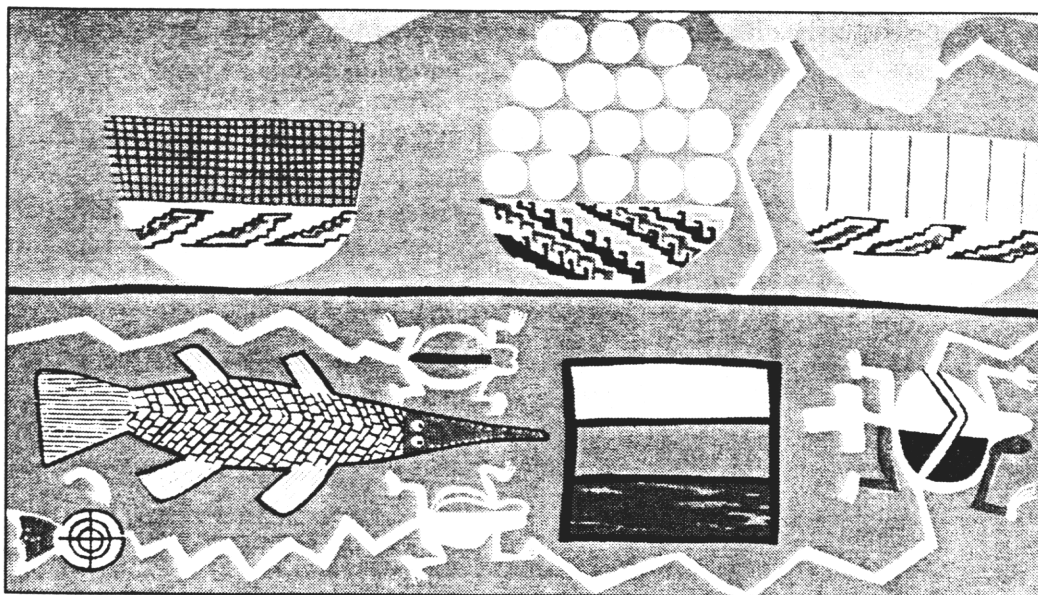


Figure 11. Center portion of kiva mural on right wall of Room 4 at Kawaika'a. Source: adapted from Smith and Ewing (1952:Plate D).

Michael Yeatts, staff archaeologist for the Hopi GCES project, reported that Mike Yard, a fish biologist with the GCES in Flagstaff, thought the fish depicted at Kawaika'a resembles a Colorado Squawfish rather than a pike or gar, although it should be noted that Squawfish do not have such prominent scales.⁹⁴ The Colorado Squawfish, now extinct in the lower Colorado River, was common before 1900 and grew as large as six feet with a weight of 80 to 100 pounds (Carothers and Brown 1991:97-99). There is no evidence that the Colorado Squawfish occurred in the Little Colorado River but it may have. However, it is almost certain it would not have been found above Grand Falls if it did travel up the Little Colorado River. If Yard's identification of the fish is correct, the depiction of a Colorado Squawfish at a 16th Century Hopi archaeological site is evidence that the Hopi's ancestors observed such a fish in the Grand Canyon or one of the tributaries of the Colorado River such as the San Juan River.

Paakiw'wik (Fish) Petroglyph

Stephen (1936:1029) illustrated a fish petroglyph found near First Mesa (Figure 12). This illustration is too general to identify the species that is depicted.

⁹⁴ Personal communication, 8/17/1994.

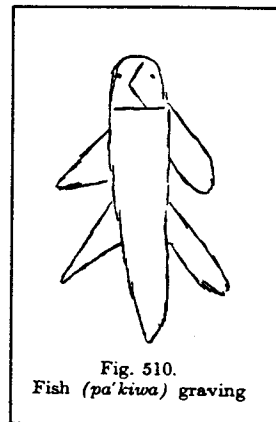


Figure 12. Fish petroglyph near First Mesa. Source: Stephen (1936:1029).

Pakiw'wik (Fish Katsina)

In his compendium on Hopi katsina, Fewkes (1903:163-164) described the "*Bakiokwik*" (*Pakiw'wik*) at First Mesa. Fewkes said this "Fish katsina,"

... was introduced into Hano by a man name Kanu. A design representing a fish is depicted on the face. This is an excellent example, of which there are many, serving to show how a man who in recent years has seen an object which he believed to be efficacious in bringing rain, has made a picture of it on his mask.

Fewkes' (1903:Pl. LXII) illustration of this katsina, depicts a green fish painted on the front of a *kwaatsi* ("friend"), which Fewkes referred to as a "horned helmet mask." The fish is placed where the mouth is on the *kwaatsi* (Figure 13). Citing Fewkes, Colton (1949) listed the "Pakiowik or Fish Kachina" as Item 223, describing it as an "Old mask at First Mesa."

Hopi cultural advisors from Second and Third Mesa reported that they do have this katsina in their villages. One cultural advisor reported that he saw a katsina with a fish painted on its mouth at a dance at First Mesa during the summer of 1995.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes Taken During the Meeting of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Team, September 19, 1995, Hopi Civic Center, p. 8. Ms. on file at Institute of the North American West, Tucson. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, September 19, 1995.]

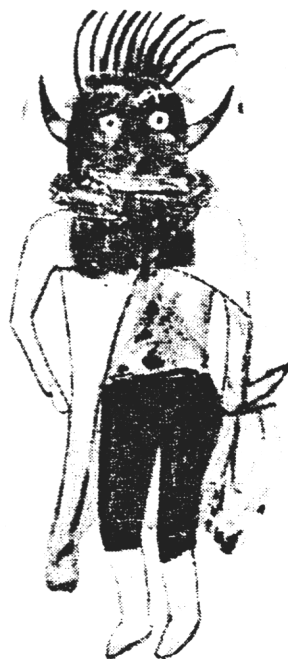


Figure 13. *Paakiw'wik* (Fish Katsina) from First Mesa. Source: adapted from Fewkes 1903:Pl. LXII.

Representation of the Sipapuni in Hopi Secular Art

The importance of the *Sipapuni* in Hopi culture can be seen in the fact that it is used as a design element in many contemporary Hopi fine art paintings. In an analysis of contemporary Hopi painting, Broder (1978:44-45) observed that, "The concepts of Emergence and rebirth pervade every level of Hopi life and thought. For the Hopi, all life is a progressive cycle." To illustrate this point, Broder described a painting by Milland Lomakema, entitled "*Se Pa Po Nah*." As Broder (1978:44-45) described, the composition for this painting includes,

... an abstract representation of the Sepapu in which the four rings represent the four worlds. The figures are the High Priests and the interlocking crescents in the center represent friendship or the brotherhood of man at the time of Emergence ... This painting illustrates the interrelation between the place of Emergence and the kiva, the central underground meeting place of the Hopis. Lomakema emphasizes that his painting simultaneously represents the Sepapu and the kiva. The friendship symbol also represents the spirit of brotherhood in the kiva. The kiva, like the Sepapu, is a womblike form. Emergence is a symbolic birth from one world to another, in which man the child is symbolically reborn from the Earth Mother. In the kivas, each generation of priests teaches the young and performs the sacred rites in order to assure the spiritual rebirth of the Hopi people. The kiva symbolizes the Earth Mother, and within each kiva is a symbolic representation of the Sepapu.

Broder also notes that other common design elements in contemporary Hopi paintings are associated with clan migrations, including the spiral, footprints, and clan symbols. Many of these symbols are frequently used as purely aesthetic rather than narrative elements in paintings, constituting important elements of composition and design. Broder (1978:47) suggested that "The concept of Migration goes deeper into the Hopi psyche than simply events of the past. The Hopi look upon the span of life from birth to death as a Migration through life, a Migration in which they seek the meaning of their existence and spiritual enlightenment." The use of the *Sipapuni* as an element in secular paintings provides an indication of its importance in Hopi culture.

TRANSMISSION OF CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE GRAND CANYON WITHIN HOPI SOCIETY

According to Hopi cultural advisors, information about *Öngtupqa* is transmitted in several different ways within Hopi society. Important, esoteric knowledge about the Grand Canyon is passed through priesthoods and given to Hopi men during ritual initiations into religious societies.⁹⁶ In discussing the transmission of knowledge about the Grand Canyon, Hopi cultural advisors noted that different knowledge rests with each village.⁹⁷ These cultural advisors caution that attempts to homogenize that information produce confusion. It is important to respect the variation in knowledge.

Öngtupqa is also a topic for discussion during "kiva talk" between men gathered in kivas while participating in various ceremonies.⁹⁸ As one cultural advisor explained,⁹⁹

There are stories about the Grand Canyon that the old people talk about in the kivas, especially with the young men when they are preparing for *Wuwtsim* initiation to make them understand that the salt mine in the Grand Canyon is important and should be respected. Many young initiates had made the trip and talk about their experiences, some are frightening and others are somewhat comical.

Hopi cultural advisors note that not all Hopis are privileged to know esoteric ritual information relating to the ceremonial cycle and the *Sipapuni*. Only initiated people have that information available to them. One cultural advisor explained that because he is not a high priest in a position of

⁹⁶ Hopi cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes Taken During the Meeting of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, June 13, 1991. Hopi Civic Center, p. 6. Ms. on file at Institute of the NorthAmerican West, Tucson, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT meeting, June 13, 1991.]

Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 20.

⁹⁷ Dalton Taylor in T. J. Ferguson, Notes Taken During the Meeting of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, December 13, 1994, Mishongnovi Community Center, Second Mesa, Arizona, p. 4. Ms. on file at Institute of the NorthAmerican West, Tucson, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT meeting, December 13, 1994.]

⁹⁸ LaVern Siweumptewa interview, January 14, 1992, p. 2.

Interview with First Mesa leaders, November 13, 1991, p.1.

⁹⁹ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 7.

ritual leadership there is a lot of information he does not know about the tribal initiation rites and other matters.¹⁰⁰

Men who come back from ritual pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* traditionally share non-esoteric information about their journey with their family upon their return. As one cultural advisor said, "... a lot of the initiates that did actually make the pilgrimage have stories about the areas when they come back ... Its frightening in a way and it makes you realize that there is something that we should respect."¹⁰¹

Although Hopi GCES river trips were not ritual pilgrimages, many of the cultural advisors who participated in those research trips talked about the experiences with their families when they returned to their village. One cultural advisor noted that while he discussed the highlights of his trip, i.e., the interesting places, camp sites, logistics, food, rapids, and eddies, he did not go into detail about the sacred sites he visited.¹⁰² The transmission of information gathered on Hopi GCES river trips to family members is thus reminiscent to the sharing of information that followed more traditional visits to *Öngtupqa*.

General knowledge about the role of *Öngtupqa* in Hopi history and culture is transmitted to relatives during family discussions held at home. Hopi cultural advisors note, however, that children are told some history that is not exact because they are not ready for the full knowledge transmitted in rituals.¹⁰³ Some adults can only know what children know. Men on Third Mesa, for instance, where *Wuwtsim* initiations are no longer conducted, can not have complete ritual knowledge.¹⁰⁴

Many Hopis reported that they learned about the Grand Canyon from their grandfathers, fathers, and uncles.¹⁰⁵ Hopi cultural advisors report that they are still transmitting knowledge about

¹⁰⁰ Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 11.

Transcript of interview of Abbott Sekaquaptewa on August 1, 1991, conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Jean Ann Reznick at Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 11. Ms. on file at Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, August 1, 1991.]

¹⁰¹ Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 19.

¹⁰² Ronald Humeyestewa interview, June 3, 1994, p. 4.

¹⁰³ Hopi cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT meeting, June 13, 1991, p. 6.

¹⁰⁴ Abbott Sekaquaptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT meeting, February 3, 1992, p. 6.

¹⁰⁵ Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kowanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 4.

Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 2.

Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1991, pp. 2-3.

Orville Hongoeva interview, July 7, 1993, pp. 2-3.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 34.

Notes of T. J. Ferguson from interview of Ruby Chimerica, conducted at Bacavi, Arizona, December 22, 1993, p. 5. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Ruby Chimerica interview, December 22, 1993.]

Öngtupqa to their children and grandchildren in this manner, teaching them that the Grand Canyon is important and you can't just go down there without having some sort of offering.¹⁰⁶ In describing how he learned about the Grand Canyon from his father, who in turned learned from his own father, one cultural advisor said, "... so he taught him like that and him being our father he taught us that too. So its my turn now so I taught my boys ..."107

Hopi women also transmitted information about the Grand Canyon to their children and grandchildren. One Hopi woman interviewed for this project reported that in the wintertime her grandmother would tell stories about certain beings coming from the Grand Canyon.¹⁰⁸ Female cultural advisors, however, report that Hopi women should not know everything about the Grand Canyon. A lot of knowledge is esoteric and tied to prophecy and should not be known by females.¹⁰⁹ Even though Hopi women are not privy to all esoteric knowledge, they feel they nonetheless play an important role in the cultural traditions of the Hopi people.

Some Hopis learned about the Grand Canyon from relatives who lived and worked at the Fred Harvey Hopi House in the Grand Canyon National Park. These relatives would bring pinyon nuts collected in the park back to Hopi and talk about the Grand Canyon. The narratives that were told described the historical and cultural associations of the Hopi people to *Öngtupqa*, as well as the natural wonders of the canyon.¹¹⁰

The association between the Fred Harvey Company and the Hopi Indians began in earnest in 1905, when the Hopi House was constructed using Hopi labor (James 1910:118; Grattan 1980:14-19). The multi-storied Hopi House, designed by Mary Colter to resemble Oraibi, housed a Fred Harvey Company store and was also used as a residence for Hopi employees. Indian artisans demonstrated their crafts in the Hopi House during the day, and Hopi dancers performed on the patio in the evening. Many of the Hopis who worked at Hopi House came from a group of closely related families from Shungopavi, Mishongnovi, and Shipaulovi (Clemmer 1995:137). In the early 1930s, before he painted the murals at the Indian Watchtower at Kawinpi on the South Rim of the Grand Canyon, the Hopi artist Fred Kabotie was one of the many Hopis employed by Fred Harvey as artisans, guides, and musicians. During this period, the Hopis who worked at the Grand Canyon came into contact with a broad cross-section of the American public (Figure 14). One result of the twentieth century Hopi association with the Fred Harvey company at the Grand Canyon is that the Hopi people now have a valid cultural affiliation to the Hopi House and Indian Watchtower (Kabotie n.d.; Gregg et al. 1995:85-86).

Some younger Hopi people are now beginning to read anthropological publications that describe Hopi ties to *Öngtupqa* and then consult with their uncles about what they learned. One

¹⁰⁶ Valjean Joshevama interview, August 25, 1992, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷ Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, p. 14.

¹⁰⁸ Vivian Poocha interview, August 1, 1991, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Ruby Chimerica interview, December 22, 1993, p. 5.

¹¹⁰ Lee Wayne Lomayesva interview, July 7, 1993, pp. 9-12.

young Hopi man who has done this reported that, "... sometimes my own uncles won't tell me ... what I shouldn't know because I'm not initiated into that ..."¹¹¹

Today, some Hopis are beginning to transmit Hopi knowledge about the Grand Canyon in the poetry they write. A poem by Michael Kabotie (quoted in Belknap and Evans 1989), for instance, alludes to the fact that cultural information about Hopi ties to the Grand Canyon is transmitted during their enculturation as Hopi people.

"The Grand Canyon
discovered in 1540
by Pedro de Cardenas"
The National Park pamphlet read
I smiled
knowing that my people
always knew the Grand Canyon
was there
and didn't need to be discovered.

A relatively new way information about the Grand Canyon is transmitted in Hopi culture stems from the official activities of Hopi Tribe. Abbott Sekaquaptewa, for instance, a former Tribal Chairman, reported that he first learned a little about Salt Woman from his village elders. Then as an adult active in tribal government he became privy to more information as it related to tribal land claims. Sekaquaptewa said,¹¹²

It usually came about in our discussion of the traditional territorial domain, in other words, our traditional land boundaries, because those are demarcated by the ruins left by our ancestral people, as well as the shrines and holy places that they established. And so in that context they usually talked to me about it, and other places, other shrine areas and sacred sites.

As Emory Sekaquaptewa observed, it is through songs and religious references that the importance of places like the *Sipapuni* and *Öngtupqa* is recreated.¹¹³ The physical reality of sacred places and their symbolic meaning work to form the spiritual feelings and attitudes that constitute the Hopi orientation to life.

¹¹¹ Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 16.

¹¹² Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, January 21, 1992, p. 2.

¹¹³ Emory Sekaquaptewa interview, January 14, 1992, p. 5.



Figure 14. Albert and Mary Einstein with unidentified Hopi performers at the Hopi House on the South Rim of the Grand Canyon, J. B. Duffy (AT & SF Railroad) and Herman Schweizer (Harvey Curios) at left, February 18, 1931. Photograph by El Tovar Studio, courtesy of Museum of New Mexico, Neg. No. 38193.

CHAPTER 4

HOPÍ CLAN MIGRATION AND THE GRAND CANYON

INTRODUCTION

Clan migration traditions are a part of the Hopí origin narratives. Many of these traditions thus have a close association with the *Sipapuni* and *Öngtupqa*. The traditions begin with the emergence and trace the history of what happened to individual clans as they migrated to the Hopí Mesas. As Laidlaw (1975:3) observed, there are four integral elements to the various renditions of the Hopí origin narratives: (1) specification of the evil that brought about emergence from the underworld, (2) an outline of authority, (3) specification of clans, clan powers, and ceremonial distribution, and (4) prophesy.

In describing the clan migrations that led to the establishment of Shungopavi as the Hopí "mother village, Hermequaftewa (1953:2-4) pointed out that "Nothing happened by chance. Everything was according to the dictates of Maasau. Village life was established, leaders were appointed, and different clans were given special duties. The land was being taken care of under the obligations of Maasau."

Archaeologists think the "gathering of the clans" occurred during the period from the 1100s to the 1300s, when thousands of immigrants from northeastern Arizona moved to the Hopí Mesas (Adams 1986:4-5). In analyzing this process, Adams concluded that in many cases the ancestral Hopí occupation of specific sites referenced in traditional history has been supported by archaeological evidence.

Discussion of Hopí clan migrations in the historical and anthropological literature are legion (Crane 1925:163-167; Curtis 1922:16-98; Fewkes 1900a, 1900b:693-700; Geertz 1994; Hough 1900:23-26, 1915:26-27; James 1974:17-32; Kennard 1972:469; Lockett 1933:43-45; Mindeleff 1891:16-39; Murphy 1911; 1928:1-4; Stephen 1891a, 1929:3-10; Teague 1993; Voth 1905:36-41; Waters 1977:29-277). In addition, there are brief accounts of Hopí migrations published in the Hopí "traditionalist literature" (e.g., Katchongva n.d., 1972; Lomayaktewa et al. 1971), and in the writings of other Hopís (Nequatewa 1967:30-40; Sekaquaptewa 1972:2420243; Yava 1978:36).

Some anthropologists have essentially treated Hopí accounts of clan migration as literal history (Fewkes 1900a; Mindeleff 1891:16-40). Other anthropologists, however, have tried to rebut their historicity (Benedict 1925:460; Parsons in Stephen 1929:2). Still other scholars have neither accepted or rejected the historicity of migration narratives in their entirety. Curtis (1922:16), for instance, believed the roots of the migration "legends" are embedded in truth and actually indicate the directions from which various clans started in their migrations that finally brought them together at the Hopí Mesas. Recently, archaeologists have begun to afford Indian traditional knowledge of history with more respect. As Teague (1993:436) stated, "... oral histories can be shown to conform to ... archaeological evidence to an extent not easily attributed to the construction of an after-the-fact explanation for the presence of numerous ruins throughout the region. These histories reflect direct knowledge of events in prehistoric Arizona."

The Hopí consider the oral narratives that compose Hopí clan migration traditions to be *navoti*. As Geertz (1994:323) observed, "*Navoti* is not only clan tradition, but it is also an indigenous

interpretive framework that is part and parcel of the politics of knowledge in a society where knowledge is the basis for status and power."

DIFFICULTY OF STUDYING HOPI CLAN MIGRATION TRADITIONS

Much of Hopi clan history is embedded in esoteric narratives that are essentially religious in nature. This makes clan migrations a difficult topic for scholarly study. There is a widespread feeling among Hopi people that clan traditions should be kept within the clan and not shared with other people.¹¹⁴ Most Hopi people will profess to know little about clan traditions that are not their own, and will refuse to recite the traditions of other clans because they are not privileged to this information and do not possess the authority to divulge it. As Fewkes (1900a:579) noted, "An honest traditionalist immediately declares his ignorance of the history of a clan that is not his own, and in the presence of a man of that clan will refer to him when questioned." The exoteric aspects of clan history that are most often shared with non-clan members contain less localization of information and fewer details than the esoteric versions that are carefully guarded (Parsons 1921:209). Only individual clans have full knowledge of their clan movements, and clan leaders are reluctant to share this information with outsiders.

COMPLEXITY OF CLAN MIGRATION TRADITIONS

After studying the processes by which a well-documented historical event became part of Hopi oral tradition, Eggan (1967:51-52) concluded that history is embedded in traditional narratives, and that this history can be analyzed using a careful approach that combines archaeological and ethnographic methods. With specific respect to clan traditions, however, Whiteley (1988a:53) cautions that Hopi knowledge is exceedingly complex. There are many different levels of meaning in clan traditions, including what Whiteley calls "mythico-historical," theological, ritual, geographical, archaeological, botanical, zoological, and meteorological frames of reference. Whiteley concludes that in Hopi thought, clans are cosmological as well as sociological entities. This makes clan migration traditions a complex subject.

The complexity of clan migration traditions is due in part to the sheer number of Hopi clans and the variable ways these clans are classified. As Bradfield (1973:208) noted, approximately 120 clan names have been recorded for the Hopi villages by six independent field workers.¹¹⁵ The nomenclature, classification, and ordering of these clans varies between different Hopi villages and over time (Curtis 1922:61-62; Mindeleff 1900:635-653). While Hopi clans are grouped into 12

¹¹⁴ Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, p. 21.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, pp. 11-12.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, pp. 12-13.

Martin Talayumptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT meeting, February 3, 1992, p. 9.

Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, p. 15.

Orville Hongeva in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 54.

¹¹⁵ Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma notes that Fewkes and other anthropologists sometimes recorded variants of clan totems as "clans" per se, and that this classificatory technique proliferates the number of Hopi clans. This anthropological practice is disputed by the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team

phratries, the components of these phratries differ from village to village (Mindeleff 1891:38-39; Lowie 1929:331-332). The dynamic organization of clans and phratries has produced a remarkable flexibility in Hopi social organization (Connelly 1979:545). Clan extinctions and mergers, clan revivals through adoptions, and clan reidentification have occurred many times in Hopi history.

Anthropologists have observed that the organizational complexity of Hopi ritual stems in part from the history of clan migrations, with many different clans bringing ceremonies with them when they arrived at the Hopi Mesas (Fewkes 1898b:193-194). As some clans became extinct, their ritual functions were carried on by other clans, and this has further complicated the historical basis of clan traditions (Mindeleff 1891:225).¹¹⁶

As Mindeleff (1891:16) noted more than a century ago, "A tradition varies much with the tribe and the individual; an authoritative statement of the current tradition on any point could be made only with a complete knowledge of all traditions extant. Such knowledge is not possessed by any one man ..." Nonetheless, there have been numerous attempts to synthesize clan migration history as composite accounts (e.g., Courlander 1982, Waters 1963, James 1974; Quinn 1983). All such unified accounts are problematical because the migration narratives are really distinct accounts of different clans (Geertz 1984:217-218). In synthesizing distinct accounts into a single narrative, the original cultural contexts in which the accounts were transmitted have been misunderstood by non-Indians, making their interpretation suspect (Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987:9). Hopi cultural advisors note that it is important to trace individual clan migrations through specific ancestral sites. Synthetic clan histories based on accumulated stories do not afford Hopi *navoti* the respect or understanding it deserves.¹¹⁷

Another factor that makes it difficult to reconstruct clan history from migration traditions is the fact that clans are often said to have come from the area where they lived immediately prior to moving to the Hopi Mesas. Where these clans may have lived earlier in their history is obscured by this telescoping of clan history into a single directional move. For instance, in discussing the complex migration history of the *Paaqapngyam* (Reed Clan), one Hopi cultural advisor noted this clan migrated to Hopi from *Wukopaaqavi*, i.e., the Ganado and Chinle area.¹¹⁸ At the same time, this advisor said he also believed the Reed Clan ultimately came from *Öngtupqa*. As he said, "I believe we came from the Grand Canyon, but we traveled before we came to Oraibi."

Given the complexity in Hopi traditions about clan migrations, and the fact that much of this knowledge is esoteric, only a very general review of Hopi clan migrations is provided in this report. This review concentrates on the patterns of clan migrations as they relate to *Öngtupqa*, *Pisisvayu*, and *Paayu*. Although general, the review demonstrates that the Hopi people have cultural ties to the Grand Canyon that stem from the migration of their ancestral clans.

¹¹⁶ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 13-14, 23-24.

¹¹⁷ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 7.

¹¹⁸ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 12-13.

ORIGIN OF CLANS

Hopi cultural advisors note that some Hopi clans received their names after the emergence, some quite far from the Grand Canyon. These clan names were associated with things they experienced during their migrations.¹¹⁹ Other clans were already established prior to the emergence and they simply reinforced their identities with *wu'ya* (clan totems) as they migrated.¹²⁰

Andrew Hemequaftewa described how the first people got their clan names or *wu'ya* during the migrations that followed their meeting with *Ma'saw*. He explained that (Bureau of Indian Affairs (1955:82),

Many people came directly to this area and somewhere the first group found a dead bear lying in their path and another group came along and found all the hair had fallen off, leaving only the hide and from this the people who made came there made straps from the hide, and they became the Strap Clan, and another group found the bear's hair buried in the ground by a gopher and they took their clan name from the gopher and they became the Gopher Clan. The next group found a spider inside of this bear's body and there were cobwebs all over inside and they became the Spider Clan, and then another group came along and found the bear's body but it was full of holes and grease was all around it, and the became the Grease Cavity Clan. Then another group came along and found nothing but bluebirds sitting on top of the bear's skeleton, and they became the Bluebird Clan. This is how the first people got their clans.

Through their clan ancestors, the Hopis are related to the phenomena of their *wu'ya* (clan totem or symbol). Hopi kinship patterns use the *wu'ya* to relate the Hopis to what is sacred in their world (Loftin 1991:15-16). Clan migration traditions give the members of each clan a social solidarity based on the clan's encounter with a supernatural being who gave them an important ritual or ceremony (Parsons 1921:211). It is on the basis of possessing a ritual or ceremonies important to the Hopi Tribe that each clan was admitted into a Hopi village at the end of its migration.

THE BROAD PATTERNS OF CLAN MIGRATION

In reconstructing Hopi clan migration history, Eggan (1994:11) suggested that the Hopi ancestors who settled in the Grand Canyon left that location in the early twelfth century due to climatic change and moved towards the Hopi Mesas. Hopi clan traditions describe the priority of settlement of individual clans on the Hopi Mesas in relation to the rituals they brought with them. The traditions also explain the grouping of clans into phratries based on conceptual or historical similarities. Eggan specifically noted that after it was established, Oraibi received an influx of people from the Moenkopi area and the Grand Canyon.

¹¹⁹ Wilton Kooyahoema in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 9.

Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, pp. 15-17.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 10-11.

¹²⁰ Merlin Kooyahoema interview, July 15 1991, p. 15.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 7-8.

Some writers have suggested that the Hopis originated in the Maya or Aztec area of Mesoamerica rather than the Grand Canyon (Billingsley 1971:100; Quinn 1983:24-26). The relations between Mayan and Hopi ritual and cultural behavior were analyzed by Bradfield (1973:414-436), who found many interesting parallels. Others have suggested South America is the place where the Hopis began their migrations (Loftin 1991:66). Given the historical complexity of Hopi clan migrations, of course, it is possible that some clans may have originated in the south, while other clans originated in north, including in the Grand Canyon. The Hopis say that their clans originated in both the north and south. For the purposes of this report, it should be stressed that even the Hopis who subscribe to a Mesoamerican origin for the Hopis say that their ancestors traveled through the Grand Canyon during the migrations that led to the Hopi Mesas (Washburn 1995:201-21).

Geertz (1994:331) pointed out that even though there is great diversity in Hopi clan migration traditions, there are also many continuities, i.e., (1) all the clans spread out after emergence to find their final residence and to fulfill their destiny, (2) each clan established reciprocal relationships with specific geographical locations and with certain human and non-human beings, (3) there was a standard procedure for admittance into a village, and (4) there is agreement that the relationships to places and beings and the order of arrival determined contemporary social, political, and religious order.

CLAN MIGRATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH *PISISVAYU* (COLORADO RIVER) AND *ÖNGTUPQA*

Many clans migrated through the Grand Canyon but at different times.¹²¹ Sometimes Hopi traditional history concerning settlement in the Grand Canyon is very specific. For example, one Hopi cultural advisor noted that *Qo'tsovi*, an ancestral ruin of the Tobacco clan, is located in the Grand Canyon between the Glen Canyon Dam and the Hopi Salt Mine.¹²² At other times the traditional history is more general, as in the statement of Katchongva (n.d.:10) that, "We migrated for many years to every corner of this continent, marking our claim as we travelled, as these markings clearly testify up to the present day. On our way we stopped for a rest near the great river now known as the Colorado." Similarly, one cultural advisor made the general observation that some Hopi clans lived at Tusayan Pueblo on the South Rim of the Grand Canyon, as well as in the Red Butte region further to the south.¹²³ The Hopi place name for Tusayan Ruin is *Taasupi* ("the place of the sun ray at evening").

Clans that emerged in the Grand Canyon had long and complex migration histories before arriving at the Hopi Mesas. For instance, with respect to the *Qalngyam* (Sunforehead Clan), Hopi cultural advisors from Second Mesa pointed out,¹²⁴

Sunforehead came from *Sipapu* also ... There are people still in spirit there. It is also true that we cannot forget where we came from. Each clan has its own history and

¹²¹ LaVern Siweumtewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991, p. 9.

¹²² Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 22-23.

¹²³ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 5.

¹²⁴ Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quavema, and Cedric Kewaninveya interview, July 15, 1991, p. 1.

responsibility and continue to practice that in the ceremonies. It took some clans longer to come to Hopi, our clan came about 1560, shortly after the revolt, and we were placed at Shipaulovi. From the canyon area, we moved south to Bill Williams Mountain (*Tusaqtsomo*) and east to Chavez Pass (*Nuvakwewtaka*) to Homolovi and then to the villages. Some clans moved through what is now Moencopi east to Kayenta, Tsegi. Also others have settled at Wupatki. Many clans during this time moved east from the canyon.

Similarly, a member of the *Leengyam* (Flute Clan) from First Mesa described how,¹²⁵

My clan went through there with other clans. We claim the canyon to be our ancestral home. There may be other clans who went before us. There are other clans far ahead of us who made stop-over before going to the Four Corners area. My clan crossed over to (now) Utah side and settled there for some time before joining at the Four Corners settlement. We moved along with some of the Pueblo along the Rio Grande. From there we joined at First Mesa with Snake Clan and Mustard Clans. According to our history we had gone through Four Corners and down through Chaco Canyon and Chinle, where we settled. This is what I was told. We hope to visit these sites and determine how we came to Hopi. We have our symbols at all the sites we settled.

The Rattlesnake Phratry and Other Clans Associated with Tokonavi

Tokonavi (Navajo Mountain) is a large landform overlooking *Pisisvayu* (Colorado River), about 135 km (85 mi) northwest of Shungopavi. Many Hopi clans migrated from *Tokonavi* to the Hopi Mesas. At the turn of the century, Fewkes (1900a:587) documented that 9 clans in two phratries were said to have come from this region. The Snake Phratry (using Fewkes' nomenclature and orthography) included the Tcūa (Snake), Tohoû wiñwû (Puma), Hüwi wiñwû (Dove), Ucū wiñwû (Cactus), Yuñû wiñwû (Opuntia, cactus) and Navovû wiñwû. The Ala-Leñya phratry included the Ala wiñwû (Horn), Sowinû wiñwû (Deer), Tcūbio wiñwû (Antelope) and Tcaizra wiñwû.¹²⁶

Fewkes' information was confirmed by other early anthropologists working at Hopi (e.g., Mindeleff 1891:17-18; Curtis 1923:16). Mindeleff (1891:24-29) added the Burrowing Owl and Coyote Clans to the list of Hopi clans that came from *Tokonavi*. Mindeleff (1891:29) also noted that the Eagle Clan on all three Hopi Mesas came from the "northwest" traveling for awhile with the Snake Clan (Mindeleff 1891:29). Petroglyphs signifying the Snake, Spider, and Rabbit clans in the Marsh Pass region support Hopi traditions of these clans migrating from the *Tokonavi* area (Reagan 1920:387).

Hopi cultural advisors consulted for this project confirmed that the *Tsungyam* (Rattlesnake Clan) came from *Tokonavi*, and traveled up and down *Pisisvayu* during their migrations.¹²⁷ The

¹²⁵ Ebin Leslie in interview with First Mesa leaders, November 13, 1991, pp. 1-2.

¹²⁶ In contemporary orthography, the term wiñwû would be written as "wungwa."

¹²⁷ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 20-21.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 9.

Kyarngyam (Parrot Clan) traveled with the *Tsungyam* from *Tokonavi* to the Grand Canyon, and then to Homol'ovi on the Little Colorado River and Oraibi. Since there were already people at Oraibi, Rattlesnake and Parrot Clans continued to the east before returning to Oraibi.¹²⁸

When discussing traditional history related to *Tokonavi*, it is common for Hopi cultural advisors to associate the Rattlesnake Clan with other clans. For instance the Rattlesnake Clan is often said to have traveled to Oraibi with the *Kuukutsngyam* (Lizard Clan). Sometimes the *Kokyangngyam* (Spider Clan) is also said lived in the Grand Canyon and traveled with the Rattlesnake and Lizard Clans.¹²⁹

One Hopi cultural advisor recounted how the *Tsöpnngyam* (Antelope Clan) from First Mesa came from the Grand Canyon and migrated as far east at Canyon de Chelly before coming to the Hopi Mesas.¹³⁰

In field work at Rainbow Bridge, Hopi cultural advisors discussed how the *Leengyam* (Flute Clan), *Aalngyam* (Deer Clan), *Kookopngyam* (Fire Clan), *Piqösngyam* (Strap Clan), *Polingyam* (Butterfly Clan), and *Tsungyam* (Rattlesnake Clan) migrated through this area around *Tokonavi* before joining the Hopis at *Aweovi* near Big Mountain.¹³¹ At *Aweovi* these clans reoccupied an area that had been lived in earlier by the *Kyarngyam* (Parrot Clan). There are additional clans that came from the area around Rainbow Bridge but they are now extinct. The Rattlesnake Clan still has a sacred spring near Rainbow Bridge. Runners were sent from Oraibi to this spring to collect water. The Flute Clan has an image of Rainbow Bridge on one of their altars. The Rainbow Bridge also figures in Hopi narratives, including one account that describes how the village chief had a pretty daughter but refused to let anyone marry her unless they first walked across the natural bridge. The Hopis from clans affiliated with the Rainbow Bridge still revisit the area for ritual purposes but these pilgrimages are not announced to the public. A Hopi shrine at the base of Rainbow Bridge has been submerged during high water levels in Lake Powell.

Hopi cultural advisors from First Mesa stated that the *Leengyam* (Flute Clan) came to First Mesa from the north though the Colorado River area.¹³² During this journey they traveled with the

Orville Hongeva in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 54.

Leigh Jenkins interview, August 26, 1992, p. 3.

Notes of T. J. Ferguson from interview of Ruby Chimerica, conducted at Bacavi, Arizona, December 22, 1993, p. 6. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Ruby Chimerica interview, December 22, 1993.]

¹²⁸ Wilton Kooyahoema in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 9.

¹²⁹ Alton Honanhi interview, July 21, 1991, p. 13.

Leigh Jenkins interview, August 26, 1992, pp. 2, 14.

¹³⁰ Merwin Kooyahoema, July 15, 1991, p. 12.

¹³¹ Field Notes of T. J. Ferguson, June 10, 1992, p. 1.

¹³² Transcript of interview of Lloyd Ami on June 2, 1993, conducted by T. J. Ferguson at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, transcribed by Theresa Lomakema, p. 3. Ms. on file at Hopi

Tsungyam (Rattlesnake Clan). A cultural advisor from Third Mesa added that after leaving the Grand Canyon, the Flute and Antelope Clans migrated as far east as Canyon DeChelly before arriving at First Mesa.¹³³

Tobacco, Firewood, Reed, Túvis, and Badger Clans

Curtis (1922:84) documented that the Tobacco Clan, Firewood, Túvis,¹³⁴ Reed, and Badger clans departed from the Grand Canyon and migrated to the south of the San Francisco mountains, eventually building a village at Honú-vi ["juniper-shoots place"] among Hopi buttes. From there they migrated to the Hopi Mesas.

Bow, Greasewood, Reed, and Roadrunner Clans

Hopi cultural advisors said the Third Mesa *Awatngyam* (Bow Clan), *Tepngyam* (Greasewood Clan), *Paaqapngyam* (Reed Clan), *Hospo'ngyam* (Roadrunner Clan) traveled extensively along the edges of the Grand Canyon.¹³⁵

Fire Clan

One Hopi cultural advisor noted that the members of the *Kookopngyam* (Fire Clan) were among the first people that came out during the emergence, so they migrated through the Grand Canyon. Other cultural advisors confirmed that the Fire Clans has traditions in the Grand Canyon.¹³⁶

Burrowing Owl

According to Hopi cultural advisors, the *Kokongyam* (Burrowing Owl Clan) has traditions in the Grand Canyon.¹³⁷

Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Lloyd Ami interview, June 2 1993.]

Leslie David in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 6.

¹³³ Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, p. 12.

¹³⁴ The word Túvis may refer to *teeve* (Greasewood). The spelling of Túvis provides an example of the difficulty of interpreting the sometimes idiosyncratic orthographies used by earlier generations of scholars.

¹³⁵ Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 4.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 5-6.

¹³⁶ Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, p. 20.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 15.

¹³⁷ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 15.

Spider, Sand, Lizard, and Water Clans

The *Kokyangngyam* (Spider Clan), *Tuuwangyam* (Sand Clan), *Kuukutsngyam* (Lizard Clan) and *Patkingyam* (Water Clan) all occupied the Grand Canyon during their migrations.¹³⁸ Members of the Water Clan pointed out their migration history began in the south. Among other places, the Water Clan stopped at *Nuvakwewtaka* (Chavez Pass), Tuzigoot, Verde Valley, Williams, and Government Mountain before arriving at Red Butte near the Grand Canyon. After migrating through the Grand Canyon, the Water clan went to the San Francisco Peaks and then, finally, to the Hopi Mesas. Members of the Water Clan say that the ancestral villages in the Grand Canyon belong to the Water Clan because their ancestors settled where there was water.

Bear and Spider Clan

Hopi cultural advisors noted that the *Honngyam* (Bear Clan) and *Kokyangngyam* (Spider Clan) came through the Grand Canyon. That is why the Bear Clan of Old Oraibi claims the area beyond Moencopi as an eagle collection area.¹³⁹ The Bear Clan is closely associated with the Vermilion Cliffs. From Gap to Lee's Ferry, the area is called *Honmuru* ("Bear Ridge") in honor of the Bear Clan.

Bearstrap Clan

The *Piqösngyam* (Bearstrap Clan) also traveled along *Pisisvayu* through the Grand Canyon.¹⁴⁰ The Bearstrap Clan came from Pasiovi and went to the north, along the ridges of the Grand Canyon before migrating to the Hopi Mesas.

Tobacco Clan

Hopi cultural advisors said that the *Pipngyam* (Tobacco Clan) has ancestral villages in the *Tokonavi* area, and that the clan migrated through the Grand Canyon.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quavema, and Cedric Kewaninveya interview, July 15, 1991, p. 1.

Robinson Letseoma and Tom Kahe interview, September 30, 1991, p. 4.

Notes by T. J. Ferguson from interview of LaVern Siweumtewa and Frank Mofsie on July 9, 1991, conducted by Eric Polingyouma and T. J. Ferguson at Mishongnovi, Arizona, p. 6. Ms. on file at Institute of the NorthAmerican West, Tucson.

¹³⁹ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 12.

Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 26.

¹⁴⁰ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 20-21.

Robinson Letseoma and Tom Kahe interview, September 30, 1991, p. 4.

Notes of T. J. Ferguson from interview of Leigh Jenkins about Hopi clan migrations and ancestral sites, conducted by Kurt Dongoske and T. J. Ferguson in Denver, Colorado, February 10, 1994, p. 2. Ms. of file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Leigh Jenkins interview, February 10, 1994.]

EVIDENCE FROM PETROGLYPHS

In addition to traditional history, Hopis use petroglyphs interpreted as clan symbols to relate clan traditions to the Grand Canyon. Many times, petroglyphs are interpreted as proof of the veracity of oral traditions.¹⁴² Furthermore, hand prints painted on cliffs in the Grand Canyon are interpreted by Hopis to be markings made by clan leaders during Hopi migrations (Jenkins 1991:2).

The members of many clans who visited or lived in the Grand Canyon left their mark in the form of petroglyphs and pictographs (Figures 15 and 16) that can still be seen today (Jenkins and Ferguson 1994:1-2). During field work in the Grand Canyon, Hopi cultural advisors identified clan marks from at least 21 clans, including the *Tsöpnngyam* (Antelope), *Honanngyam* (Badger), *Honngyam* (Bear), *Piqösngyam* (Bearstrap), *Aawatngyam* (Bow), *Kookopngyam* (Fire), *Leengyam* (Flute), *Tepngyam* (Greasewood), *Katsinngyam* (Katsina), *Kuukutsngyam* (Lizard), *Kyarngyam* (Parrot), *Tsungyam* (Rattlesnake), *Paakwngyam* (Frog, a totem of the Water Clan), *Paaqapngyam* (Reed), *Tuuwangyam* (Sand), *Kokyangngyam* (Spider), *Taawangyam* (Sun), *Pipngyam* (Tobacco), *Koyongongyam* (Turkey), *Patkingyam* (Water), *Paangqwkokyangngyam* (Water Spider, a totem of the Water Clan), and, possibly, the *Torsngyam* (Bluebird).¹⁴³

Hopi cultural advisors said that some clans that traveled through the Grand Canyon left petroglyph symbols that cannot be interpreted today because these clans are extinct or they relocated among the New Mexico Pueblos.¹⁴⁴

It should be noted that Hopi cultural advisors did not think that all the Hopi clan marks in the Grand Canyon represent clan migrations. One cultural advisor, for instance, said that a corn symbol he saw might represent the Corn Clan but that it could also simply signify that agricultural activities

¹⁴¹ Robinson Letseoma and Tom Kahe interview, September 30, 1991, p. 4.

Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 12.

¹⁴² Notes from interview of Ronald Humeyestewa, June 3, 1994, conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Walter Hamana at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 1. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Ronald Humeyestewa interview, June 3, 1994.]

¹⁴³ Dalton Taylor interview, July 7, 1993, p. 2.

Ronald Humeyestewa interview, June 3, 1994, p. 1.

Owen Numkena interview, July 3, 1994, p. 1.

Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, p. 25.

Notes of interview of Valjean Joshevama, Sr., on August 25, 1992, conducted by T. J. Ferguson and Gail Lotenberg at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 2. Ms. on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Valjean Joshevama interview, August 25, 1992.]

Gilbert Naseyouma in T. J. Ferguson Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 13.

T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 15.

¹⁴⁴ Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quavema, and Cedric Kewaninveya interview, July 15, 1991, p. 1.

were conducted in the vicinity.¹⁴⁵ Other Hopis observed that corn is also a symbol of *Ma'saw*. Another advisor commented that the Sun Clan from Second Mesa did not emerge from or migrate through *Öngtupqa*, but that its members have gone on pilgrimages to the Salt Mine and left their clan marks there.¹⁴⁶

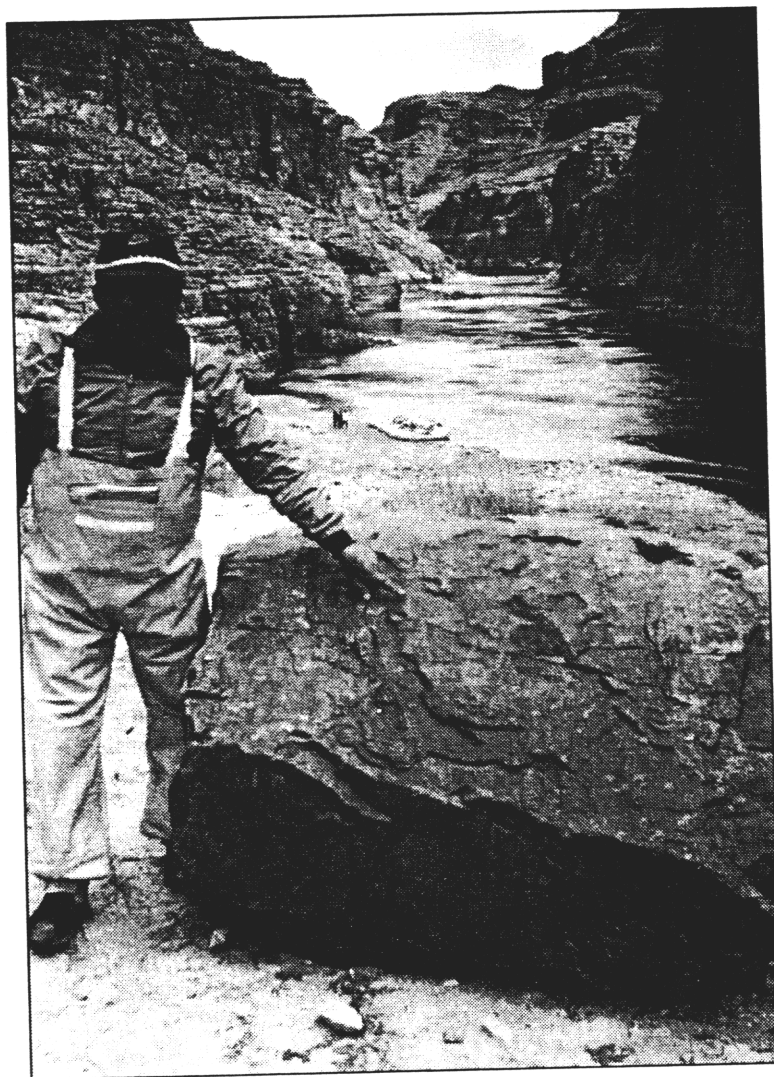


Figure 15. Ronald Humeyestewa points to Bearstrap Clan petroglyph at South Canyon, with *Pisisvayu* in background, April 27, 1994. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson.

¹⁴⁵ Owen Numkena interview, July 3, 1994, p. 1.

¹⁴⁶ Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 5.

Hopi cultural advisors also noted that not all Hopi clans migrated through the Grand Canyon. Nonetheless, when clans arrived at Hopi they were integrated into the Hopi religion and, in December, prayers and offerings are made to birds, shrines, and ancestors, including those in *Öngtupqa*. All Hopi people thus have a tie to the Grand Canyon. Even those Hopis whose clans did not emerge in the Grand Canyon still believe some of their ancestors lived there. *Öngtupqa* is therefore important to all of the Hopi people.¹⁴⁷ Similarly, Hopis who believe their clans originated in Mexico still think the Grand Canyon is important because it is where all Hopis reside in the afterlife.¹⁴⁸

CLAN MIGRATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH PAAYU (LITTLE COLORADO RIVER)

A number of Hopi clans lived in sites along *Paayu* (Little Colorado River) before moving to the Hopi Mesas. These ancestral villages include the well-known archaeological sites of Homol'ovi and Wupatki, as well as other ancestral villages along *Sakwawayu* (Chevelon Creek) and *Lemewayu* (Clear Creek).¹⁴⁹ It is probable that the ancestors of the Hopis who lived in these and other sites explored the *Paayu* to its confluence with the *Pisisvayu*, and thus had a first hand knowledge of *Öngtupqa* that they brought with them to the Hopi Mesas when they migrated there.

Fewkes (1900a:583, 595-597) documented 23 Hopi clans in 5 phratries that came to the Hopi Mesas from the south, via the Little Colorado River valley. These clans (using Fewkes' classification and orthography) include the Patuñ Phratry, with the Squash, Crane, Pigeon Hawk, and Sorrow-making Clans; the Ala-Leñya Phratry, with the Blue (Green) Flute, Drab-Flute, Mountain Sheep, and Flute Clans; the Patki Phratry, with the Rain-cloud, Maize, Rainbow, Lightening, Agave, *Bigelovia graveolus*, Aquatic animal, Frog, and Tadpole Clans; the Tüwa-Küküte Phratry, with the Sand, Lizard, and Flower or bush Clans; and the Tabo-Piba Phratry, with the Rabbit, Hare, and Tobacco Clans. Mindeleff (1891:25-29), Voth (1912b:142-143), and Cole (1992:13) also document some of these clans living along *Paayu* before migrating to the Hopi Mesas.

Many of these Hopi clans that lived along *Paayu* came from the ancestral village of *Palatkwapi*, including the *Patkingum* (Water Clan), and the related clans of *Honangyam* (Badger), *Tuuwangyam* (Sand), *Pipngyam* (Tobacco), *Qaöngyam* (Corn), and *Taawangyam* (Sun). The exact location of *Palatkwapi* is not known. With respect to this issue, Teague (1993:444-447), noted that some Hopis have identified Montezuma's Castle as *Palatkwapi*. Teague also suggested, however, that there may have been a number of places associated with the name *Palatkwapi*, all representing different homes of various southern clans. Indeed, other Hopis have suggested *Palatkwapi* was

¹⁴⁷ Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 5.

Valjean Joshevama in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT meeting, December 19, 1991, p. 4.

Abbott Sekaquaptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT meeting, June 13, 1991, p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, p. 15.

¹⁴⁹ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 9.

Milland Lomakema interview, August 29, 1991, p. 14.

Notes Jean Ann Reznick from interview of Anna Silas on June 27, 1991, conducted by Jean Ann Reznick at Hopi Cultural Center, Second Mesa, Arizona, p. 1. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Anna Silas interview, June 27, 1991.]

located at Casa Grande, Arizona, or Casas Grandes, Chihuahua (Byrkit 1988:4-6; Washburn 1995:20-21). Teague (1993:444-447) described how the Hopi account of the end of *Palatkwapi* is said to have resulted from dissension and social breakdown that led to a disastrous flood. After leaving *Palatkwapi*, the clans migrated to the Hopi Mesas, some of them stopping for awhile at other sites such as Homol'ovi.

Information collected by Curtis (1923:16, 79) indicates the Rattlesnake and Deer Clans moved from *Tokonavi* to Wupatki on the Little Colorado River. The Deer Clan then moved to a village near Moenkopi before settling on the Hopi Mesas. According to Curtis, other clans that migrated to Hopi via the Little Colorado River valley included the Squash, Flute, Deer, Rattlesnake, and Firewood Clans. Curtis (1923:18) was told at First Mesa that the Cloud, Lizard, Rabbit and Sun Clans migrated northward from *Palatkwapi* to Homol'ovi (Curtis 1922:18), and from there to the Hopi Mesas.

Hopi cultural advisors confirmed 15 of the clans that migrated to Hopi from the south, settling for awhile at Homol'ovi. These clans include the *Isngyam* (Coyote Clan), *Katsinngyam* (Katsina Clan), *Kwaangyam* (Eagle Clan), *Leengyam* (Flute Clan), *Nuvangyam* (Snow Clan), *Patkingyam* (Water Clan), *Pikyangyam* (Side Corn Clan), *Pipngyam* (Tobacco Clan), *Qalngyam* (Sun Forehead Clan), *Qaōngyam* (Corn Clan), *Taawangyam* (Sun Clan), *Tapngyam* (Rabbit Clan), *Torsngyam* (Bluebird Clan), *Tsungyam* (Rattlesnake Clan), and *Tuuwangyam* (Sand Clan).¹⁵⁰

Hopi cultural advisors also noted that the *Honngyam* (Bear Clan) lived at Wupatki before arriving at the Hopi Mesas, and that the *Kokyangngyam* (Spider Clan) is associated with the Long House Ruin at Wupatki.¹⁵¹ The *Tsungyam* (Rattlesnake Clan) is also associated with Wupatki. There is a "snake" petroglyph there, and Hopis think the so-called "ballcourt" is actually a snake plaza. The vent hole at Wupatki is described as the breath of *Paalölöqang* (water serpent), and is regarded as a Hopi shrine.

Hopi clan traditions demonstrate that many Hopi clans crossed the Little Colorado River and settled nearby, farming and collecting plant resources for food. These clans brought specialized

¹⁵⁰ Dalton Taylor interview, November 13, 1991, p. 1.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 4.

Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 6.

Valjean Joshevama, July 2, 1991, p. 2.

Leslie David in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 6.

Robinson Letseoma and Tom Kahe interview, September 30, 1991, p. 9.

Delfred Leslie interview, December 16, 1992, p. 11.

Leigh Jenkins interview, February 10, 1994, p. 2.

Wilton Kooyahoema in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 7.

Interview form completed by Eljean Joshevama on July 17, 1991. Ms. on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmōvi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Eljean Joshevama interview form, July 17, 1991.]

¹⁵¹ Dalton Taylor interview, November 13, 1991, p. 1.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 11.

knowledge of *Paayu* to Hopi when they reached their final destination on the Hopi Mesas. The Hopi clans that settled in the Homol'ovi villages have special concern for the river and its environment.¹⁵²

CLAN MIGRATIONS FROM OTHER AREAS

The dynamics of Hopi clan migrations involved a number of geographical areas in addition to *Pisisvayu* and *Paayu*. While these areas were not the focus of the research undertaken for this report, some information about the clans associated with them was collected. It is worth summarizing this information here since it helps fill out the rich history of Hopi clan migrations that connects the Hopi people to many different areas.

A number of Hopi clans are associated with the Verde Valley of Arizona. These include the *Katsinngyam* (Katsina Clan) and *Kyarngyam* (Parrot Clan).¹⁵³ Furthermore, one cultural advisor explained that,¹⁵⁴

The Bear Clan traveled in the Verde Valley, and the Blue Bird traveled in the Verde Valley eastward, east into the Pai country, and subsequently into the San Francisco area. And, of course, Tuzigoot down in Verde is ... Bear, and Bearstrap. And then some of the Second Mesa Water Clans have traditions into the Verde Valley from the Tonto Basin area.

Another cultural advisor described how Hopi clans traveled from *Tusaqtsomo* (Bill Williams Mountain) to *Tsimontukwi* (Woodruff Butte), and then to Ganado before arriving at Hopi. Other clans traveled from *Kawestima* (Keet Seel) to *Kisiwu*, and then to the Flagstaff area before settling on First Mesa.¹⁵⁵ Shrines in the areas listed in this account, of course, form the southern part of the *homvi'kya* used as a pilgrimage route to pay homage to *Hopitutskwa*.

The *Tepngyam* (Greasewood Clan) and *Paaqapngyam* (Reed Clan) were said to have come "all the way from old Mexico, down below Tucson."¹⁵⁶ Casa Grande is regarded as an ancestral Greasewood Clan site and is known as *Naasavi* ("the village in the middle of the valley"). Ancestral Hopi villages in Canyon de Chelly were also acknowledged.

In addition to clans that came from other south, there were also clans that came from the east and north. The *Qaöngyam* (Corn Clan) was said to have come from the Rio Grande, and the

¹⁵² Notes of Eric Polingyouma of interview of Douglas Coochwyetewa, Will Mase, Nelson Honyaktewa, Sr., and Wayne Susunkewa, Sr., on June 25, 1991, conducted by Eric Polingyouma at Mishongnovi Village, Arizona, p. 2. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Douglas Coochwyetewa, Will Mase, Nelson Honyaktewa, and Wayne Susunkewa, interview, June 25, 1991.]

¹⁵³ Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 20.

¹⁵⁴ Leigh Jenkins interview, August 26, 1992, p. 10.

¹⁵⁵ Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quavema, and Cedric Kewaninveya interview, July 15, 1991, p. 2.

¹⁵⁶ Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 20-22.

Kokyangngyam (Spider Clan) was said to have migrated as far north as the frigid area where corn would not grow before arriving at the Four Corners and, eventually, the Hopi Mesas.¹⁵⁷

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CLAN MIGRATION AND CONTEMPORARY LAND USE

The Hopis have a continuing spiritual relationship with the areas their clan ancestors inhabited before migrating to the Hopi Mesas, and these areas continue to be used for religious purposes. As Fewkes (1900a:592) observed, "It is a common feature of great ceremonies to procure water from old springs for altar rites, and these springs are generally situated near ancestral habitations now in ruin." He notes in "... instances where clans have migrated to new localities their chiefs often return to ancestral shrines, or make pilgrimages to old springs for the purpose of procuring water to use in their ritual."

More recently, Emory Sekaquaptewa (1972:242-243) made the same point, noting that,

Many ceremonial shrines, ruins, and other monuments that historic significance to one or more of the clans lie out of village-controlled lands, and some even lie outside of the Hopi Reservation. These places are considered as "belonging" to the group which has a historic claim to them, and these claims are renewed through rituals which commemorate the historic events which gave basis to the claim. Prayer feathers used in the rituals are deposited at these places as evidence of the claim. In some instances, the place names of these monuments or ruins are given to places nearer the village for a more convenient performance of commemorative events.

The Hopis maintain strong associations to ancestral clan sites, and this leads to historic and contemporary use of these sites in the Glen Canyon Recreational Area and the Grand Canyon National Park (Carr 1992:32-33).

¹⁵⁷ Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 11.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes Taken During the Meeting of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, October 22, 1992. Honanie Tribal Building, Kykotsmobi, Arizona. Ms. on file at Institute of the North American West, Tucson, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT meeting, October 22, 1992.]



Figure 16. Hopi Clan Pictographs at the Hopi Salt Mine. Symbols from left to right include the *Piqösngyam* (Bearstrap Clan), *Kokyangngyam* (Spider Clan), and *Honngyam* (Bear Clan). Above these is the migration symbol. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, April 29, 1994.

CHAPTER 5

TRADITIONAL HOPI NARRATIVES SET IN THE GRAND CANYON

INTRODUCTION

This chapter summarizes several traditional Hopi narratives set in the Grand Canyon. Many Hopi narratives are the property of particular clans and societies, and Hopis are restricted from telling these to people outside those groups (Courlander (1982:xxiii). There is reluctance to share stories that concern ceremonial and religious matters with outsiders, so the accounts that find their way into English translation represent only a small portion of the knowledge contained in Hopi narratives. Many esoteric aspects of Hopi narratives are not related to uninitiated people, whether they be Hopi or non-Indians. For instance, Homer Cooyama explained that Hopi children are not told the "real story" of the Hopi origin until they are initiated in the kiva societies (Courlander 1982:97-98). The story told to children and the narratives heard by initiated men are therefore qualitatively different. This same caveat applies to many other narratives as well. Information about Hopi origin and migration pertinent to the GCES project was discussed in Chapter 3. This chapter focuses on what other narratives have to say about the Grand Canyon.

TYPES OF HOPI NARRATIVES

In English, Hopi narratives are often called "myths" or "folktales." Neither English word, however, adequately represents the true nature of these narratives from a Hopi perspective. As Emory Sekaquaptewa noted, Hopi ritual knowledge does not fit the definition of a myth.¹⁵⁸ And, from a Hopi perspective, narratives classified as "folktales" sometimes contain more truth than the imaginary tales that constitute European folklore.

The Hopis make distinctions between various types of Hopi narratives. *Navoti* entails narratives that contain esoteric knowledge, and these are contrasted by *tuuwwutsi*, commonly referred to as "folktales" in English. Leigh Jenkins explained the difference between *navoti* and *tuuwwutsi* by saying,¹⁵⁹

... *tuuwwutsi* literally translates into a couple of key words—"tuu" is derived from the word *tuunengam* "for others;" "wutsi" is very literally "fake." But taken into proper context meaning, it means a reiteration, an reenactment, it means a remembrance of something today by people who may not have a direct link to that past. For example, the Oraibi split, I told you about that. I have direct link to that split through my grandfather, because he lived through that era. So if I tell that story, it would not be a *tuuwwutsi*, it would be what I call *navoti*, "knowledge," something real, something that Hopis have a direct link to in some way. That is *navoti*, that is knowledge, that

¹⁵⁸ Emory Sekaquaptewa interview, January 14, 1992, p. 8.

¹⁵⁹ Transcript of interview of Leigh Jenkins on January 29, 1992, conducted by T. J. Ferguson at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmobi, Arizona, p. 1. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmobi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Leigh Jenkins interview, January 29, 1992.]

is something that they remember very vividly. Maybe my son who hears it from me, maybe later it would be slowly transitioned into *tuuwutsi*, because my son would not have a direct link to that. But I did, through my grandfather. So if I tell it, I tell it as a real story, not as a *tuuwutsi*. I don't tell it in a way that I say "I *think* this is what happened, you know, I tell it from my grandfather who lived there, so I tell it as it was. And that's the difference. *Navoti* is that kind of knowledge. *Tuuwutsi*, yeah, can be looked at as folk tales. Like a lot of our coyote tales can be looked on as *tuuwutsi*. But if you reiterate that *Palakwabi* story, that today in many ways is referenced as a *tuuwutsi* too, because, you know, it is a past and we only remember it, we don't have a physical link to it because of the generations. Whereas, *wuknavoti*, again, literally translates into "knowledge of the old people," or "old people's knowledge." It is prophecy. Its been foretold, its what has been talked about. *Wuknavoti*, as an example, would be the purification that Hopis still talk about. That would still be *wuknavoti*. You know. And then *tutavo*, is another one; this is instructions, its morals, its how to be a good Hopi. Its instructions, both ritual and secular type, that's *tutavo*.

In part, whether an account is *tuuwutsi* or *navoti* depends upon who is narrating it. As Leigh Jenkins said,¹⁶⁰

And also the other qualification there is if you have a Society person telling you something, to them it is not *tuuwutsi*, it is *navoti*. Even though they may reiterate something of the past, if it is ritual knowledge, because they have specific knowledge of that, what they do, which no one else has, it is real to them. That is not *tuuwutsi*, that is *navoti*. That is what they know it to be. So there are all these little subtleties that are around that people get confused about.

One Hopi cultural advisor noted that many traditional narratives are told when men are gathered in their kiva. There is "... a circle of story telling. You go to the kiva, one would tell a story like this and then it would drop to the next guy, and then you continue, you go around like that, you know. We get a lot of stories in the evening you know and it's pretty good ... We do this when we stay up all night in the kivas."¹⁶¹

Other Hopi narratives are told in family settings. Herschel Talashoma, a well-known and respected Hopi storyteller, said that many of the stories he narrates are "not a religious thing," and don't contain esoteric knowledge. The stories can be told to anyone regardless of age. He narrates these accounts to his children to preserve the Hopi language and cultural art of narration. In Hopi, a full narration of these accounts can take several hours.¹⁶² Talashoma noted that as a narrator he is interested in the variation that exists in the accounts told in different Hopi villages. He thinks this variation is good because it helps to preserve Hopi culture.¹⁶³ There are often multiple versions of a

¹⁶⁰ Leigh Jenkins interview, January 29, 1992, p. 1.

¹⁶¹ Eric Polingyouma in Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, p. 25.

¹⁶² Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, pp. 19, 27.

¹⁶³ Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, p. 44.

narrative, and no one version can be considered the "correct" one because they are all valid. All of the various versions contain valuable information derived from different cultural contexts.

MASKI

Some Hopis contemplate death and wonder what they will encounter on their journey to *Maski* in the Grand Canyon (Lomatewama 1983). Several Hopi narratives recount the experiences of Hopi individuals who visited *Maski* while they were alive to find out what is there. *Maski* is sometimes translated as "Skeleton House," but it is accurately interpreted as "place of the dead" or "home of our ancestor's spirits." These accounts are sometimes told as events that occurred in the remote past (*navoti* or *tuuwuksi*), but a few are narrated in the first person. All of the accounts contain valuable information about what the Hopis will find when they die and go to *Maski*. Kennard (1937) and Titiev (1941:504) noted that a Hopi is regarded as "strengthened" after returning from a visit to the Afterworld.

In one Hopi narrative about *Maski*, a man followed his dead wife's spirit to the place of the dead in the Grand Canyon (Colton Collection n.d.). A wren helped the grieving man get down into the canyon where he found that the people there eat the steam of food rather than the food itself because they did not have "heavy" bodies. When the people in *Maski* went on a deer hunt and called out they had taken a deer, the living man only saw a dead cricket or other little dead bug. Eventually the man met the Old Spider Woman who took pity on him. "She told him that it was no use his trying to live with his wife down here, that her body had passed into a different phase of existence, she was gone and separated from him forever and the dead and the living cannot dwell together" (Colton Collection n.d.:2). The Spider Woman called upon two large owls to help transport the man out of the canyon, and the man went home. However, the man did not live long after returning to his village and thus returned to *Maski* to live with his wife.

In an addendum to this account, the Coltons noted that, "When a person is ill and unconscious, the Hopis say that he has left his body and gone down into the place of the dead ... which is in the bottom of the Grand Canyon at the junction with the Little Colorado, where the old salt mine is (Colton Collection n.d.:2)."

Mary-Russell F. Colton explicitly connected the *Maski* with the *Sipapuni*. She wrote, "The Grand Canyon is 'Muski,' the place of the dead. It is thought of a long passageway through which a painful progress must be made by the 'spirit,' like the entrance through which the people came up from the underworld: in other words, a part of the Sipapu, which was covered by the ocean" (Colton in Nequatewa 1967:126).

Several visits to the *Maski* by people living at Oraibi are described in an appendix to Don Talayesva's autobiography, *Sun Chief* (Simmons 1942:435-436). Additional versions are found in James (1940:17-18). These various accounts report different details but all of the stories are very similar. They describe passing people on the road westward who are on a long and tortuous journey since they had not lived a good life. Those who have lived a good life are permitted to take a broad, smooth trail patrolled by members of the Kwan society (*Kwanitakas*) who assist them. Often a good person is placed on his kilt and carried over the road as if flying. The righteous people pass a smoldering pit containing wicked people and then pass on to a large village of white houses where their departed relatives are living in peace and plenty. Those who were good hold the same ranks as positions as they had when alive. The deceased Hopis don't eat solid food; they only consume its aroma or soul. The ancestors say they will send rain and good crops to the living. The people in the

House of the Dead tell the living visitors that they cannot stay and must return to the living to advise the people of Oraibi of what they have seen to assure them about life after death.

A first person account of a visit to *Maski* was narrated by Don Talayesva of Oraibi in 1932 (Titiev 1944). This visit to the dead occurred in the winter of 1907 when Talayesva was seventeen years old and attending the Sherman Indian School in Riverside, California. Talayesva attributed his experience partly to the shock of learning that an older sister had died and partly to an attack of pneumonia that required hospitalization. At times a spirit would appear to Talayesva and tell him that if he did not eat he would die. This spirit wore a dance kilt and sash, had a plain *nakwakwusi* (prayer feather) in its hair, and carried a blue prayer feather in its left hand. Blue is the symbolic color of the west, and the path of the dead and the home of the dead lie to the northwest of the Hopi pueblos.

On Christmas eve, Talayesva was visited by the spirit who said, "Now your time is up. I'll let you travel out from here to the place where the dead people are. The path is already made for you to go by. I'll wait here to see whether or not you are going to come back, and I'll keep hold of you" (Titiev 1941:497). Talayesva walked out of the hospital "as if he were treading on air," went to the San Bernadino Mountains and entered a long, foggy tunnel that led to the mesa at Oraibi. Talayesva went to his house but his parents and relatives could not see him. He left Oraibi and followed a road where he met a woman with "two hearts" who asked for food and drink. Talayesva declined to feed her and continued on the road, traveling rapidly without touching the ground.

At the west end of a mesa, Talayesva met a *Kwanitaka* (Kwan Priest), who advised him to take the left road at a fork since this road had been prepared for him (Titiev 1941:498). It was sprinkled with cornmeal and pollen. He continued to Coal Canyon, where he encountered twelve clowns (*tcuka*) who advised him to hurry back or they would bury him. Talayesva next came to a steep mesa and "sort of floated down." Titiev (Titiev 1941:1941:498) wrote, "Soon he arrived at the Grand Canyon and realized he was on a familiar road ... He saw many ruined and deserted houses, such as he as since seen when going for salt." Talayesva came to the end of the road and looked down a steep canyon to something shiny which may have been the Little Colorado River.

Another *Kwanitaka* appeared and said (Titiev 1941:499), "I waited for you all morning. I'll show you many things. Your time is not up yet. You are careless and don't believe where your people go when they die. You think dogs and burros and animals die and that's all there is to it. I'd like to teach you a lesson. This blanket is for you to ride." Talayesva rode to the bottom of the canyon on the blanket. His hair was ritually washed with white suds. Among other things, Talayesva saw a fire pit where spirits (*powaqa*) who had killed people were thrown into the flames and transformed into beetles. Every year the *powaqa* had taken one step towards the Grand Canyon and had finally arrived.

Talayesva was chased by *Ma'saw* but the *Kwanitaka* helped him return to the clowns and *Ma'saw* stopped and turned back. The clowns advised him that he had been taught something valuable about the Afterworld and to return to the "ugly man" lying in his hospital bed. Talayesva awoke in bed on Christmas morning. His spirit guide explained that most Hopis never see their guide but that he had taken Talayesva to the Afterworld to teach him a lesson. His spirit guide then vanished.

Titiev compared Talayesva's account of his visit to the Afterworld with a second rendition Talayesva related to Leo Simmons six years later. While there was some variation in the details (e.g., seeing faces along the trail rather than people sitting on houses on the way to Mount Beautiful), the basic elements of the two accounts had remained virtually unchanged. Titiev (1941:503)

observed, "This may be the result of frequent repetition, for Don tells his story to Hopi groups on numerous occasions. In this way he refreshes his own memory at the same time that he helps his auditors formulate the Hopi concept of the Afterworld." Talayesva believed that his "experience" was granted to him to teach him to value the Hopi manner of life (Titiev 1941:504).

In 1969, Pautiwa (Ned Zeena) from Walpi narrated another version of the "The Land of the Dead" that he heard at Oraibi (Courlander 1982:100-105). In this version, it is a young man who wanted to go to Maski. The boy's father explained that no one can go to Maski except for the dead but the young man persisted. As Pautiwa recounts,

It made the boy's father pretty sad to hear that. But he sent for a medicine man to come and help his boy go. The medicine man told the boy, "You don't have to go. It's not your time yet. When you die, then it will be time [enough]." But the young man said, "No, I want to go now." So the medicine man told him to lie down on his blanket, and he covered him with an ova and rubbed some kind of medicine on him. After a while that boy stopped breathing, just like he was dead. But his spirit, we call it breath, got up and went out of the house and started walking west on a trail. He went through some cactus fields, four of them, and after some time he came to the edge of Grand Canyon. But he didn't know how to go down, or where to go from there. While he was standing there a kaletaka (warrior), an old man, a priest, came up and told him to take off his kilt and put it on the ground. He did that. Then the Kaletaka told him to stand on it, and he did that. Then the kilt just lifted up and floated over the canyon a ways and set him down at the bottom.

There was a trail, still going west, and he went along that way. He began to see a lot of dead spirits walking along real slow. They were trying to climb sand hills, but they kept slipping back. Couldn't get anywhere. Then further along he saw some more dead spirits, masauwus, carrying heavy loads. He saw women all bent over, with loads of matas and matakis on their backs. They had real narrow forehead straps on their foreheads, and it cut into their skin and pained them. All these people were masauwus who were being punished for things they had done [when alive]. They walked a little way, then rested, then walked, then rested ...

Then the boy came to the fork, and there was a One Horn and a Two Horn priest there. They saw he wasn't really dead and asked him what he wanted ... The boy told them, "I have come all this way to see what it is like. I'd like to look around and then I'll go back." Finally they said, "Okay, if you are really going back. Come over here and we'll show you something." They took him a little ways down the right-hand trail and showed him a big roaring fire in a deep pit. That fire was something. It was like a volcano, giving out sparks and ashes. Had a kind of blue flame. Well, they said to the boy, "Take a look at that. That's where all the evil ones go. When you were coming here on the trail you saw some of them. Those people were trying to go fast, but they weren't getting anywhere. They've been on the way four years. They did pretty bad things when they were alive, and now they're getting punished. Some of those men you saw, when other men were in their fields working hard, the way Hopis are supposed to do, those fellows seduced their wives, maybe raped them. Or they didn't respect the chief, who is supposed to be the father of the village, or didn't take care of the old people. And those women, they played around a lot with men, or they didn't take care of their children. When they get here we'll decide if they can be forgiven. But if they've been too evil, they can't be excused, and we'll

toss them into the pit." Just then a man came along and they grabbed him. They said, "This one was too bad, we can't excuse him." They took him by his hands and feet and tossed him down into the fire.

After that, they took the boy back to the fork and let him go on the other trail to the village where the dead spirits were living. He saw a bunch of kids on a rabbit hunt, but they were hunting grasshoppers and crickets and things like that. They saw him coming and began to yell, "Look out, here comes a masauwu!" You see, they called him a dead spirit. They acted like they were alive and he was dead.' They ran like anything. Well, he got to the village where the people were living. That village looked just like his own village, Oraibi. He even saw some old people he knew when they were alive. There were women and kids as well as men, but nobody paid any attention to him. He thought he would go on top of a roof and started to climb a ladder, but the steps, the rungs, just broke under him and he couldn't go up. Those steps were made out of cornstalks or sunflower stalks and they wouldn't hold a live person. Only dead spirits could climb them. So after a while he went back to where the One Horn and Two Horn [priests] were, and he told them he was going home. They said, "Well, you can tell the people what its like down here, but after this no one who's alive should ever try to get in. Only when your time comes. Then you'll get tested and we'll see which way [trail] you have to take."

As is evidenced by these different accounts, the interpretation of *Maski* varies between villages and individuals. In part, this is due to the fact that some of this information is derived from *tuuwutsi*, and thus from different experiences.

***Maski* as Told by Herschel Talashoma**

In one of the interviews conducted for the Hopi GCES project, Herschel Talashoma translated a few parts of the *Maski* narrative in English, "... just to give you an idea."¹⁶⁴ The *Maski* narrative as told by Talashoma incorporates many Hopi beliefs about death and the Grand Canyon.

... this boy ... was thinking the dead, where they actually go after death. So he finally asked his father where they go, what happens to them. So, ... his dad was a chief. So he gathered his partners and they discussed it. He's got what the boy had asked him about ... where they go when they die. So they talked about it and then they said, "Let's go to the old man Badger. He knows, ... he knows everything, he's got the medicine for it." So finally they ask the old man Badger to come, so he did. And they told him what they want, the boy wanted.

So sure enough, "I'll go back to the house and see what I can come up with." So he went home and looked and looked and finally he found the right medicine. So he came back, told the boy to lay down. And he spread an ovah in the middle of the kiva so he laid down there and he covered him up. "But first you eat this, this will make you, this will make you go to sleep."

¹⁶⁴ Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, pp. 19-25.

So he did. While the others sat around him, he laid down and after he ate that medicine and he laid down and before he knew it he was on his way to Grand Canyon. He died, he actually died, went to sleep.

So on his way he met a lady somewhere ... on the way ... towards Grand Canyon. And the lady told him, "I haven't been a true Hopi. I did wrong. I didn't go according to the Hopi way so that this is my punishment. I only take a few steps after a year so it will take me a long time before I get to Grand Canyon to the place I'm going." And she only had a house of bushes or something like that as a shelter.

Then he went on, then finally came to the edge of the Grand Canyon. The canyon itself, there he met Kwanitaka. And the Kwanitaka — "What are you doing around here, you're not dead?"

He knows that he's not dead. "Well, I came to see what's it's like down here." So, O.K., he took off his kilt ... set him on that kilt and threw him down the edge. Instead of falling in ... the boy's kilt took him down.

After when he landed it was hazy, foggy, smoky, something like he couldn't see too far. Then he went on and finally he met someone and he asked, "What is this fog-like thing or smoke?"

"Well, that comes from an oven where some of the chiefs, the village chiefs, take their people and burn them. So don't go that way, you take this one go straight, don't branch off anywhere," someone told him.

So he took the path that was showed to him. So he went on. So when he got there ... there were people down there walking around, but they weren't talking, not that much. So finally they saw him and they told each others and by the time he got to the place where actually the village was, there was a there's a big gathering of people down there and they welcomed him.

Finally someone asked, "What are you doing down here?"

"Oh, I just came down to see what's it's like down here."

"Well, where are you from?"

"I'm from Shungopavy."

So, O.K., "What clan do you belong to?"

"Bear."

"O.K., your people are over there. That's where you got to go. Someone take him there."

So someone volunteered to take him there. When he got there ... the place was, I guess, it was on a ledge or the house was second story. So there was a step ladder that was standing against the wall from the ground. So when he got there the ladder

was made out of sunflower stalk. So one step on the first one it broke. He can't get up there.

So they brought him some food, melon, tsukuviki, and I think bread, too. That was mentioned. So when they brought it to him he started to eat and people were, you know, snickering at him, laughing at him because he was eating, actually eating what was put before him solid, which they're not so that's the difference right there.

He is not actually dead and the dead people they only eat the steam out of the food that is put before them. So that's what they told him. "You don't belong here, you're not dead so you can eat solid. That's the reason why the ladder can't hold you."

So finally he got to talk to some people that were down there. "You shouldn't be down here because you eat solid food. The ladder can't hold you. You should go back up and tell your people, tell your people whenever someone dies, wrap them up in an ovah and put them to rest. Because ovah is not woven so tight so when they get down here if they won't rain that's what they use to carry in so the water can seep through the ovah through the ... tassel from the big belt. The big belt that's what it drains through so dress them up like that and put them to rest. That's what it takes, and when you get home you make things for us. Make paho for us, make naqwaqwusi for us, and sent them down here. Look at ours, it's all worn out. Do that every Soyalung. Tell your people so when we receive what you make for us, we'll in turn help you also. We'll sent up rain. We'll [send] somebody up there with rain and we'll give you crops."

So that's why they decided to do this. I mean that's what they told him, "So you go back home and tell your people."

I don't know how long he was down there, but yes he has seen a lot. He seen people walking around with baskets on their on back. And those things they were carrying had rocks in them, and some had some cactus, and their backs were full of ... cactus spine and ... the straps on those carriers were really deep into their foreheads because they never take it off. They have to carry that around for a certain length of time before it can be relieved from that. That's what he saw also.

So finally when they told him all these things then he came back ... of course, he did the same thing. He got on his kilt and it carried him back up to the Kwanitaka. So finally he came back to Shungopavi. This happened in Shungopavi, so he came back to Shungopavi. Then he came back to life and when he came back to life they gathered again and he told them in detail what he had seen. Then he believed, then he was sure that there was life after death because he's been down there and seen it. This is another one of those Grand Canyon things and this thing happened ... where he went to the place where the dead people go in Grand Canyon.

In discussing this narrative, Talashoma noted that while this version is set at Shungopavi there is another version of the narrative set at Oraibi. Talashoma observed that, "When stories are told there's always a part in the story that interrelates with another."¹⁶⁵ (1992:25)

ÖNGWU'TI (SALT WOMAN)

There are many Hopi narratives about *Öngwu'ti* (Salt Woman). In summarizing the themes of these narratives, Herschel Talashoma pointed out they all contain a narrative element wherein Salt Woman moves after being abused or mistreated by the people who used her salt. Most narratives refer to the elements of ritual offerings that are exchanged with *Öngwu'ti* during collection of salt. In the words of Talashoma,¹⁶⁶

The Salt Woman moved on to another place and at this place the people were friendlier and invited them to eat. She was happy and introduced herself to the people. She explained that salt was used at every meal and she gave the people some salt. She told these people to use the salt for cooking. If you want more I'll be a few days from here and you can come get more salt. With the condition that you prepare prayer feathers for me and when you come do not laugh or make noise. I will always be there when you need salt.

Homer Yowytewa discussed a narrative that describes how the people of Shungopavi prevailed upon the *Pökanghoyat* to intercede with Salt Woman and convince her to move to the Hopi Mesas.¹⁶⁷ Unfortunately, the Hopis abused Salt Woman after she arrived and she then moved to Zuni Salt Lake. In the words of Yowytewa,

... when the Hopi clans moved to the mesas from south that gathering of salt for ceremonies became further so the leaders prepared offerings to the little warrior gods in the Grand Canyon to bring the salt to the Hopi mesas so that the gathering will not be so difficult. The warriors knew that if they should bring the salt to the Hopi it may be abused. The warrior gods refused the offer to bring the salt to the Hopi. The Hopi leaders tried several times and offered to provide special ceremonies for the salt. Again the warrior gods refused. Several years went by and several tries were made. Hopi people continued to gather salt from the Grand Canyon. It is believed that once things are made easily accessible that abuse will follow. This is what they try to avoid. When things are difficult to gather or possess it is cherished and appreciated.

The salt was minimally used back then. Certain ceremonies used salt, and it is believed that most of the minimal salt requirements were met by local, natural plants. Salt was a precious item back in those days, and only the "well off" families had salt. Others would barter for small amounts of salt from them. Due to this type of

¹⁶⁵ Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, p. 25.

¹⁶⁶ Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, pp. 45-47.

¹⁶⁷ Notes of Eric Polingyouma from interview of Homer Yowytewa on October 24, 1991, conducted by Eric Polingyouma at Shungopavi, Arizona, pp. 1-4. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Homer Yowytewa interview, October 24, 1991.]

behavior by some it may well be that they brought out the salt so that everyone would have salt for their need. The Hopi people promised that they would look after the salt and would give it the upmost care. This convinced the warrior gods to agree to bring the salt.

The warrior gods made a visit to the Hopi land and were shown where she will be given a home. Hopi leaders prepared *pahos* and certain clans were sent to bring the salt. This clan would be responsible for the salt once she was brought to Hopi.

Everyone was anxiously awaiting the arrival of the Salt Woman. After several days they finally arrived and were taken to *kikmongwi's* house in the village. She was given a traditional welcome, with a round of smoke with the leaders. After the smoke she was led from the village to her new home in the flats east of Shungopavi Village.

At the time of her admittance, Shungopavi Village was still located below the present village and Mishongnovi was not settled at the time. It was believed that *Awatovi* was the only other village at the time, and maybe *Kawaika'a*. Clans from Homolovi were just arriving and were settling in other mesas.

The Salt Woman was appreciated and people provided for her. As people began to increase in the Hopi villages, her use increased. Other villages began to use her and provide nothing. People were warned by Shungopavi that special offerings are made to bring the salt to their homes. People disregarded the warnings and began to use the salt excessively and trade her off for personal gain. This continued for some time and a feud followed the use of the salt. Salt Lady was abused and felt that if people continued to use her in this manner there would be no salt for the future.

The Salt Woman felt abused and requested a visit with the two little warrior gods. At the end of their meeting she was convinced that she would leave to save the salt. She did not know where she would move, but she definitely wanted to move to a place where she would be appreciated and enjoy peace. There is a place in the east that is open and peaceful. She moved there and was finally discovered by the Zuni people. She enjoyed peace once again and the Zuni people cared for her. The Zuni people accepted her as a clan member. A salt clan was adopted in her honor. She now lives there happily.

Hopi leaders were disappointed when she moved but agreed that if she was abused and neglected she had every right to look after herself. This made it hard for the Hopis now to gather salt. The Hopi people continue to make visits to the Salt Woman only now for religious purposes.

A version of this narrative related by Paul Saukie incorporates the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* from the Grand Canyon.¹⁶⁸ As Saukie related,

¹⁶⁸ Notes of Eric Polingyouma from interview of Paul Saukie on July 15, 1991, conducted at Shungopavi Village, Second Mesa, Arizona, p. 3. Ms. on file at Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmobi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Paul Saukie interview, July 15, 1991.]

When the Hopi people came to the mesas from San Francisco Peaks area, the advance groups discovered the salt east of Hopi Mesas. When the Hopi bear clan settled at *Matövi*, Borro Spring, they were shown the salt east of Mishongnovi Village, just north of *Sowiki* ridge. There is abundance of salt there for all the Hopis. When the Bear Clan made their final move to lower Shungopavi and later other villages were settled. Later the salt was taken for granted, neglected and excessively used. No offerings were every provided to her for her salt. This went on for awhile and later the Salt Lady cannot take the abuse any longer and left to find another home. Soon the Hopi people miss her and began a search; they went all over the Southwest and no trace of the Salt Lady. The Hopi asked for assistance from *Pökanghoya* twins from the Grand Canyon. They knew where she relocated and led the Hopi people to the salt near the Zuni villages. There the Hopi leaders tried to convince her to return. After several tries they cannot convince [her] to return to the Hopi villages. The Salt Lady told them that they had abuse her and use her for granted without appreciation that they will have to go at distance for salt if they want the use of her. Now the Hopi people have to go to Zuni to get salt and special ceremony had to be performed to bring the salt to the Hopi mesas.

In a subsequent discussion of Salt Woman, Saukie observed that there are several Hopi narratives that explain how *Öngwu'ti* "...once lived near the Hopi villages and left because of abuse and neglect."¹⁶⁹ These narratives illustrate how the Salt Woman and War Gods in the Grand Canyon and at Zuni Salt Lake are closely related. As Saukie noted, the Hopis eventually found the Salt Woman at Zuni Salt Lake, and Hopi people began to go to both Zuni Salt Lake and the Grand Canyon on salt pilgrimages. Saukie cautioned, however, that "... the reason why the Hopi people lost the Salt Lady ... should be a lesson that anything or being misused or mistreated can be taken away."¹⁷⁰

In discussing *Öngwu'ti*, Norris Onsaë pointed out that there are several narratives about Hopi Salt Lady, each with different details about the origin and direction the Salt Lady took in her journey to the Zuni Salt Lake. The Grand Canyon figures into some of these narratives. In general, the narratives describe how "the salt has become difficult to gather and become a precious item." In Onsaë's words,¹⁷¹

The Salt Lady once lived near the Hopi mesas, south of Mishongnovi Village near *Sowiki*, home of the jack rabbit. She was here before the Hopis came and discovered her. Hopi and the Salt Lady lived as neighbors benefiting from one another for a long time before the other clans joined the villages. There is a special ceremony Hopis perform before gathering the salt at the Hopi salt site. Everyone was satisfied with the salt nearby. Before, the Hopis would gather salt at the Grand Canyon and Verde Valley areas. These places are distant, and men would spend many days in journeys to the distant salt.

¹⁶⁹ Paul Saukie interview, August 17, 1992, pp. 1-2.

¹⁷⁰ Paul Saukie interview, August 17, 1992, p. 2.

¹⁷¹ Notes of Eric Polingyouma from interview of Norris Onsaë on April 1, 1992, conducted on the Hopi Indian Reservation, pp. 1-2. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Norris Onsaë interview, April 1, 1992.]

As the Hopis lived, and more villages were built, soon the salt was being abused. Many Hopis would gather salt and sell it to other groups. Soon certain clans would claim the salt and demand their approval before others gathered the salt. Arguments ensued over the claims and the Salt Lady felt the shame. She was confused and felt guilty over the fussing. She went to the Grand Canyon to visit the Spider Lady and two warrior gods. After she left from there, she had to decide to leave to avoid any further problems. It was with regret she left. Before she left, she stayed up all night and prayed that ... the problems would end and the people would learn from this.

PÖKANGHOYA, PALÖNGAWHOYA, ÖNGTUPQA, AND THE SALT BEDS

The *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* have many associations with the Grand Canyon. Curtis (1922:83) recounted part of narrative of the Tobacco Clan that explains the creation of the Grand Canyon. This account stated,

In the new world was light, but, as below, water was everywhere; so they implored Pökánhoya and Palónao-hoya, two little boys who had accompanied them from below, to devise means of draining the earth. The brothers directed them to feather some small arrows with the feathers of a bluebird ... and a robin ... and shooting these tiny missiles into the great rocks that confined the water, they formed the Grand cañon [Písis] through which the water soon drained off, leaving the earth soft and muddy. Then the brothers ground up many kinds of shells and hard pebbles, and spread the powder over the land, and the ground became hard and dry.

A narrative from the Reed Clan, also collected by Curtis (1922:89-90), tells how the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* drained the land. This version includes an element where the boys consult Spider Woman in the Grand Canyon. They are instructed to fill a bowl with medicine water and undertake certain ritual actions. Their first attempt at draining the land failed so they prepared another bowl of medicine water. To make the earth hard, the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya*,

... gazed into it and saw a condor [*qátukua*], and they shot their arrows at the bird in the bowl. Immediately a sound of fluttering and falling was heard above them, and a great condor fell down before them. With its feathers they tipped four arrowshafts of pine, oak, spruce, and syinga, which they shot one by one into the rocky walls, and through a great hole water began to rush. As it poured through it cut out what is now the cañon of the Little Colorado.

Variants of this account were collected or discussed by Stephen (n.d.a; 1929:50-51), Cushing (1883), James (1910:154), and Clemmer (1995:15). In the account recorded by Cushing in 1883(1923:166), the world was described as,

... indeed very small and surrounded on every side by waters ... The people appealed to Vulture who spread his wings and fanned the waters, that they flowed away to the east and west until mountains began to appear. Across these "The Two" cut channels through which the waters rushed away, wearing their courses deeper and deeper, thus forming the great canyons and valleys of the world.

Hopi narratives also relate how the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* were responsible for the creation of the salt beds at Zuni Salt Lake and elsewhere. In the version published by Courlander (1971:26), the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya*,

... looked around at the vast Upper World. Pokanghoya said, 'Everything has a sameness. Something needs to be done.' Polongahoya answered, 'Yes, see how it is out there. The ground is soft. It is nothing but mud. ' So they took their buckskin ball and their playing sticks and began to play nahoydadatsia, following the ball wherever it went, running all the time. Wherever their feet touched the soft earth it became hard. They gathered the mud into great mounds and turned them into mountains. Whenever they passed, grass and trees came into being ... and near where the Zunis now live they created salt beds, and they also made salt beds at other places. When at last they had done enough things of this kind, they returned to the sipapuni.

In *Sun Chief*, Don Talayesva recounted the establishment of the "Salt Journey" by the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* (Simmons 1942:433-435; Titiev 1937:255-258). The account begins with two brothers attending a dance at Blue Canyon, where the people are reluctant to invite them to eat because of their untidy appearance. When the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* are finally invited to eat, they offend their hosts by dipping their hands into the stew bowl after wiping their noses. When they weren't invited to eat again later in the day the brothers grew angry and sent their grandmother, Spider Woman, to the west since they were going to take revenge on the people. The *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* shot arrows into the village shrines causing the people to protest. As the crowd rushed them, the brothers chewed a powerful medicine and spurted it over the people and their village, turning everyone and everything into stone. The narrative continues,

They followed their grandmother past what is now Moenkopi and set up a shrine at the spring, Pau'kuku. Then they proceeded westward to establish a new settlement at Salt Canyon and to prepare a trail for the good Hopi to follow in going for salt. They stopped at Tutuveni to carve their emblems, as Hopi have done ever since, and soon overtook their grandmother, who was weary. They urged her to hurry on, saying, "Our enemies may return to human forms and follow us." At Totolospí they let her go on while they stopped to play a game of checkers. When they overtook the grandmother again she was exhausted so that they had to half-drag her along. Finally when she complained that she could not take another step, they dug a narrow trench and told her to rest in it upon her back. They removed her dress, saying, "Now your private parts will show, and when the Hopi pass, every man will get into you. In this way we will trade with each other, because, on their return, the Hopi will leave salt for you." Then they chewed medicine and spurted it upon the Spider Woman, turning her into stone.

The Twins hurried on the mouth of the canyon where the elder god said to his brother, "You stay here so that when the Hopi come for salt they will pray to you for rain as their reward for beating us at checkers." Thus the younger War Twin was turned to stone, and his elder brother traveled past the place that spreads the buttocks, past the home assigned to the Reed Clan, the stone with the fur carvings, and the Chicken shrine. When he came to the home of Masau'u, the Head Chief of the Canyon, he very fortunately secured this powerful god's promise to help any Hopi who passed that way in the future. At the home of the Coyemsie he received a similar promise. Beside the Sipapu he said, "When salt gatherers come here they will deposit their offerings and pray." After leaving instructions for the proper procedure in removing the yellow clay (*pavisa*), he went to the edge of the cliff, picked a place to descend, and dropped to the ridge below. There he established the home of the Kwans, set up the stone basin for the medicine water, and walked along

the ledge rubbing his fists against the walls of the canyon and turning everything he touched to salt. Finally, he climbed back on the shelf and turned himself into stone, the chest-shaped rock that has ever since assisted the Hopi in their descent to the salt.

In another version of this narrative, set in Shungopavi, the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* attended a Lalakon Dance, but because they were dirty, the people in the village treated them rudely. They returned to Spider Grandmother, where they were fed. This version, recorded by Courlander (1971:111-117) adds,

After he had finished eating, Pokanghoya said, "Those people are not generous. They do not treat travelers well. They do not deserve everything that we have done for them. The salt beds we made for them are too close. The people take their salt for granted, they think the salt made itself. But it was the two of us who went out, while the people were still at the sipapuni, and created the salt in different places ... Those people who live in Koechaptevla and Awatovi, they have not offended us, and they can continue to get their salt at that place, where the Zunis live. But as for the people of the western villages who get their salt north of Moencopi, they are not going to be able to find it there anymore. Hereafter when they go for salt they will have to travel through hard country. They will meet Utes, Paiutes, and Navajos on the way, and when they have found their salt they may have to fight to keep it from their enemies. This is the way it will be from this time on."

Spider Grandmother said, "Where are you going to put the salt?"

Pokanghoya replied, "We are going to place it near where the people emerged from the Lower World. To reach it the people will have to pass by the sipapuni. Then perhaps they will remember where they came from and what was given to them in the Upper World."

Spider Grandmother said, "Very well, I will go with you on the journey."

After passing Moenavi, the two brothers went north to where they had created a salt bed in ancient times (Courlander 1971:115). They scooped up all the salt and put it into a small bag that *Palöngawhoya* carried in his belt. They traveled on and made a trail westward. When they stopped to rest, the two brothers marked a *totolospi* pattern on the rocks and played this game. They said, "Hereafter, when anyone comes this way he will stop here and play totolospi with us. If he loses the game to us he cannot have any salt and will have to return back."

The *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* continued on and after awhile the Spider Grandmother grew tired. *Pökanghoya* said, "Yes, if that is how it is, we will make a place for you to rest." The narrative continues (Courlander 1971:115),

The brothers then scooped a trench out of the solid rock. They told Spider Grandmother to remove all her clothes and to lie in the trench they had made. When she was lying on her back, Pokanghoya squirted medicine on her and turned her into stone, with her vulva plainly visible.

Pokanghoya said, 'Whenever men come this way for salt they must copulate with Grandmother, and on their return journey they must bring her gifts. This will remind them that nothing in this world is without obligation.

The brothers went on to another place where Pökanghoya took the bag of salt from *Palöngawhoya* (Courlander 1971:115). The younger brother remained here and *Pökanghoya* spayed him with medicine to turn him to stone. This was done to remind the Hopis who created the salt. *Pökanghoya* continued the journey into the "great western canyon." "At a certain place where the descent was difficult he created giant steps in the rocks" that led to the Little Colorado River. He passed a cave where Masauwu sometimes lived. He passed the Sipapu which "was just as Gogyeng Sowuhti had left it, covered in with water so it resembled a pond" (Courlander 1971:116).

He went on. He passed the place where the Colorado and the Little Colorado meet. There he went deep into the gorge, and he went around touching the rocks and canyon walls with his hands. Everything he touched turned to salt. He emptied the salt bag they had brought from the old salt bed north of Moenavi, spreading its contents on all sides. Then Pokanghoya ascended partway up the canyon wall, where he turned himself back into rock.

In time, some of the men of Shungopavi and Oraibi and other western villages went to the old place looking for salt. But they found that the salt was gone from there, except just a little that the brothers had spilled on the ground ... They discovered a trail going west, and on that trail they found some stone footprints left by Pokanghoya and Polongahoya ...

They followed these footprints and came upon all of the places the two brothers had established along the trail. At last they discovered the new salt deposit created by *Pökanghoya*. After returning to their villages, the men discussed the meaning of everything they had seen. From that time on, whenever men went along the salt trail they stopped at the spots where the two brothers had stopped and placed pahos there. They had intercourse with *Kokyangsowu'ti* going into the canyon and brought her a present of salt on their return. As Courlander (1971:116-117) documented,

It is said that the salt deposit in the canyon was the last of the great creations of *Pokanghoya* and *Polongahoya*. It is also said that although the figures of the brothers and Spider Grandmother are there in stone, the three of them really returned to their home on the mesa and went on living.

Not all the narratives concerning the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* are concerned with *Öngwu'ti* or the creation of the salt beds. In many narratives the Hopis call upon the prowess of the brothers to save them from some calamity. Even in these narratives, however, there is often reference to the Grand Canyon. In one narrative involving the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya*, for instance, Curtis (1922:195) described how a village Crier Chief's son was taken by the Winged Snake, and the chief wondered how to save him. "His first thought was of the two brothers, those who lived at *sá'kpi*, and of the other two brothers who lived at Salt lake and of the two who lived at *Ön-túpka* (Salt cañon - a place in the Grand cañon above El Tovar hotel, where the Oraibi people sometimes gather salt.)." In this narrative, the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* from the Grand Canyon visit their brothers at Salt Lake, and they all work together to save the young Hopi men who had been enslaved by the Winged Snake (Curtis 1922:196).

TIYO'S JOURNEY THROUGH THE GRAND CANYON

Tiyo is the first person to have navigated through the Grand Canyon on a river trip. The primary purpose of the various narratives that describe Tiyo's journey, however, is not to describe

his adventures in river running but to explain how the Snake Dance and related ritual knowledge were introduced into the Hopi Tribe. Tiyo is the Hopi word for "boy" (Seaman 1985:203).

The narratives of Tiyo have been described and analyzed by many scholars and writers (Bourke 1894:177; Arntzen 1936:42; Curtis 1922:16; Fewkes 1894:106-119; Forrest 1961:28-33; Haeberlin 1916:18-19; James 1903:108-110; James 1940:14, 1974:19-22; Lockett 1933:55; Mullet 1979:7-37; Parsons 1926:187-191; Stephen n.d.a, 1891a:2-15, 1929:35-50; Sugrue 1935:63; Voth 1905:30-36; Yava 1978:55-59). As Fewkes (1894:106) observed, although there are many variants of the narrative with details that differ, "... notwithstanding many inconsistencies, there is a remarkable similarity ..." between them.

Eggan (1979:xi-xii) provided a synopsis of Tiyo's journey which summarizes the major thematic elements of the various narratives. Eggan wrote,

The story of Tiyo involves the youth's journey down the Colorado River in a hollow log to the land of the snakes, at a time when animals and human beings were much closer to one another and animals could assume human forms. When the rapids ceased and the youth was able to land he met Spider Woman, who invited him into her house. Here she represents the trap-door spider who lives underground in a "kiva," which in itself is the symbol of the Underworld from which mankind emerged. And long ago she taught the Hopi how to spin and weave cotton.

Under the guidance of Spider Woman the youth entered the land of the snakes and learned the secrets of the Snake-Antelope kiva, where he ultimately won the Snake maiden as his bride-to-be. Continuing on to the kiva of the Woman of Hard Substances, located in the western ocean, the youth met the sun on its daily journey across the skies and back under the world, and was taken on a tour of the various deities who promote the growth and fecundity of plant and animals, as well as human beings, before being allowed to return to his home village near Navajo Mountain with his Snake-maiden bride. From their union were produced both snake and the human members of the Snake clan, and the rituals which the youth had learned formed the basis for the ceremonies of the Antelope and Snake societies, in which the snakes who are caught in the four directions are made "brothers" in the Snake Society before being carried back to the desert to take the Hopi prayer for rain to the deities of the directions. But initially the snakes produced by the union of the youth and his Snake bride bit the village children and led to removal of the population to other locations. Tiyo and his bride were readmitted only when he had won a place for them by besting Masauwuh, the deity who controlled the surface of the earth and was in charge of death.

In several versions of the Tiyo narrative, the journey down the Colorado River is recounted in such a vivid manner that there is no doubt that the Hopi's ancestors saw and experienced the rapids of the Colorado River. In the version of the narrative recounted in 1891 by Wiki of the First Mesa Snake Clan, for instance, it was said (Stephen 1891a:4),

His father then closed the end and gave the box a push with his foot, and it floated away bobbing up and down. In one of its ends was a small circular aperture through which he thrust his wand and pushed away from the rocks encountered; the spray also splashed through it and this he caught in his basin when he wished to drink or to mix his kwip-dosi, and he was also provided with a plug to close the hole when he neared

the roaring waters. He floated over smooth courses and swift rushing torrents, plunged down many cataracts, and spun through many wild whirlpools where black rocks protrude their heads like angry bears, and this for many days, who knows how long?

Sixty-four years after Wiki, John Lomavaya of the First Mesa Snake Clan recounted another version Tiyo's journey (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1955:339-341),

While they were living at Navajo Mountain, the Chief's son happened to sit on the edge of the river that was flowing by the village. He was wondering where the body of water was coming from and where it is flowing to. While he was wondering, he made up his mind to try to find out, because of his curiosity, where that river flows into, and he intended to follow it. I said he intended to follow the river where it flows to. So he cut himself a cottonwood tree and hollowed it out and he covered with this cottonwood with a lining of pitch to make it water-proof. He also made an opening and furnished himself also with a rod so in case he wants to go on he can push himself. So when he got ready he prepared enough food to go along, got inside of what he had made and closed the opening and lined it with pitch and used the rod to roll himself into the river. As he started to float down the river he noticed that because of no vibration or movement of what he was occupying, he opened the port-hole and look out and discovered that he had drifted ashore among river trash, or the things that collect on a river bank. So he prodded with his rod and floated down again. The second time he noticed that the thing that he was drifting in was still, he again opened the hole and when he looked he saw a great body of water, but on account of the waves it pushed him to the shore. He saw the land and also the big body of water. He must have reached the ocean ...

The journey of Tiyo is illustrated in The Watchtower at Desert View in the Grand Canyon National Park (Figure 17). This building is a 70 foot tall structure designed by Mary Colter and constructed in 1932 by the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad (Fred Harvey 1933; Grattan 1980:69-78). The Hopi artist Fred Kabotie painted spectacular murals inside the structure. A Fred Harvey pamphlet explained the symbolism of the murals, including a large circular painting that tells the "Snake Legend," which is said to be the "story of the first man to navigate the Colorado." The pamphlet stated (Fred Harvey n.d.),

Again we find the four directional colors in the four quadrant panels. The story begins in the upper-left hand panel ("north") with a Hopi chief giving prayer sticks to his son before sending him on a hazardous exploration of the Grand Canyon. The purpose of the trip is discovery of the legendary Snake people, reportedly in possession of the power to make rain, which is badly needed by the desert clan of the Hopi. The upper-right hand quadrant ("west") shows the son's boat floating down the Colorado River between stylized Canyon Walls. The lower-right hand quadrant ("south") depicts the Snake priest presenting the bow, symbol of the snake clan, to the traveler who already has the secrets of rain making "in the bag." So well is he received that the Snake priest's daughter (to the right) is given him as his wife. On the fourth, lower-left hand panel ("east") the young couple is shown on their honeymoon trip back to the Hopi clan. The blessings of the Snake people are upon them, for the bow is dripping water and rain is falling from six different clouds.

The painting also symbolizes the Center of the Universe in the design in the center of the circle, and Light and Life (identical in Hopi thinking) in the four circular colored bands around the four quadrants ...

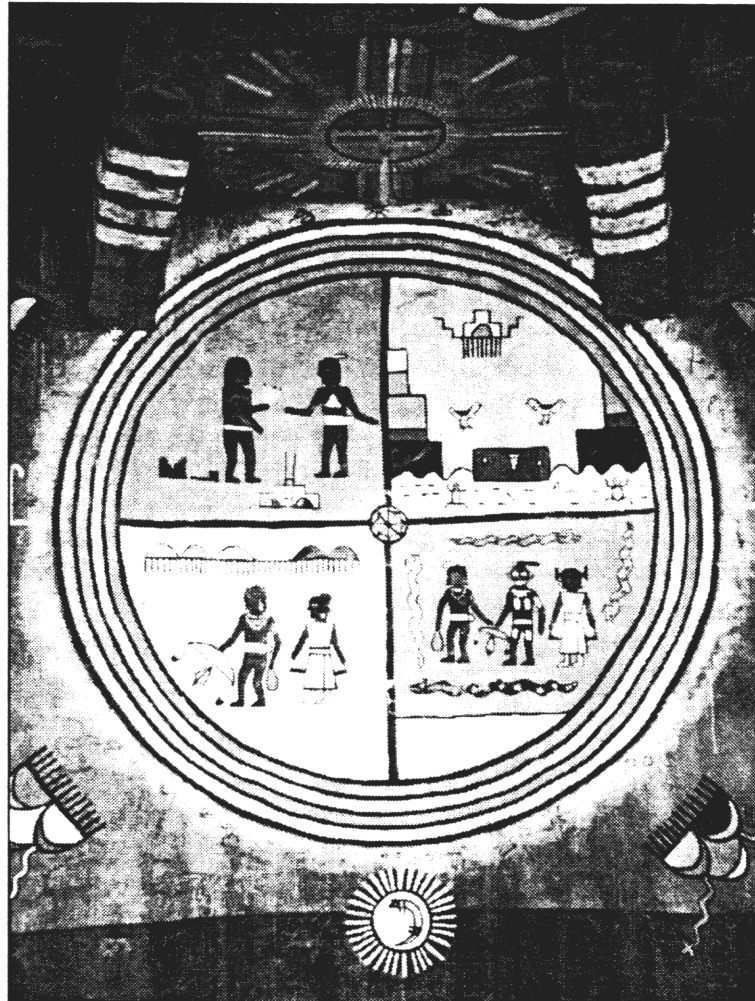


Figure 17. Fred Kabotie mural in The Watchtower illustrating Tiyo's journey down the Colorado River. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, June 3, 1994.

It is relevant to note that many but not all versions of the Tiyo narrative are set in *Tokonavi*. In some versions, Tiyo started his journey at Wupatki on the Little Colorado River.¹⁷² In other versions, he began at Canyon Diablo, and traveled down the Little Colorado River to reach the

¹⁷² Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 3.

Colorado River.¹⁷³ In one version, Tiyo and his sister travel together to bring back the Antelope Society.

Hopi cultural advisors think that the account of Tiyo has a basis in history. When the Rattlesnake Clan came to the Colorado River, a group followed the river all the way down to the Gulf of Mexico and these people disappeared from Rattlesnake history, never to return. One cultural advisor stated that this historical event was the source for the Tiyo narrative, documenting that part of the clan was directed to find the destination of the river.¹⁷⁴ Anthropologists, as well as Hopis, think the Tiyo narrative reflects Hopi clan history (Fewkes 1894:106-119). In a summary of the Tiyo narrative, for instance, Curtis (1922:74-78) noted that Fewkes thought this story represented the marriage of a Cougar boy with a nomadic Shoshonean woman.

Hopi cultural advisors familiar with Tiyo reported that these narratives are still being transmitted as part of Hopi oral traditions.¹⁷⁵ Some younger Hopis are also now learning this narrative from reading the accounts published by anthropologists and other writers.¹⁷⁶

The Boy from Tokonavi as Told by Herschel Talashoma

During an interview for the Hopi GCES project, Herschel Talashoma offered a synopsis of one version of the Tiyo narrative, translated into English.¹⁷⁷ He said the title to this narrative was "The Boy from *Tokonavi*." *Tokonavi* is the Hopi placename for the landform now known as "Navajo Mountain." Talashoma noted that he knows several versions of this narrative, all very similar. One version was set in Holbrook, and that boy traveled inside a hollow log. Talashoma asserts that all of these versions say the same thing, "... but only put in a way that a few things are different from it; edited or omitted out of it or whatever." All of the versions contain information about the significance of the Grand Canyon in Hopi culture. The version that Talashoma made available for the Hopi GCES project follows.

He was a boy that always thought of where the sun came up from. He always would sit on top of his house and think of that. "I wonder where the sun comes up from and I wonder where it goes." This is the main thing that he thinks about everyday. Everyday when he sees the sun rise and the next thing that he thinks about, "I wonder where this Colorado River, this river this water that runs back here? I wonder where it goes? I wonder where it empties?" ... he doesn't know ... where it goes.

¹⁷³ Max Taylor in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 40.

¹⁷⁴ Leigh Jenkins interview, February 10, 1994, p. 2.

¹⁷⁵ Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 3.

Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 29-31.

Max Taylor in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 40.

Robert Sakiestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 3.

¹⁷⁶ Orville Hongeva interview, July 7, 1993, p. 14.

¹⁷⁷ Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, pp. 18, 28-43.

Then one day he asked his father all about that and his father said, "I don't know. I don't know, I don't know nothing about. I don't know where the sun comes up from. I don't know where it goes and same thing for the water, which is Pisisvayo to us."

"Well I think one of these days I'm going to follow it, the water," he told his dad.

"O.K., when you're ready let me know." That's all he said.

So one day, I guess when he was ready, he told his dad, "I decided to go follow that river."

"O.K., within eight days you come back to me," he said.

So he was looking forward to eight days. So his father started preparing things that he ... would need and also his mother and sister started making things that he would take for food. Probably just *piiki* and something else.

So finally the eighth day arrived and his father took him down to the river. When they got there he left him there. "You wait here, I'll go here. I'll be right back." So he stood there and wait for his dad. He wasn't gone for too long but then he came back with a drum. I guess all that time he was making that drum down there, for him.

"This is the thing that you're going to travel in, so get in." He put him in there and sealed him up. Just have a little crack where he would look out from, look through. Told him everything. "You eat in there, you sleep in there. If you want to go to bathroom you do that in there also but he has to get rid of it through that little chink that he made him. And he also gave him something when you think your not moving you use this to push yourself out of the places where you need to get yourself out of. Which would be, to me it would be a whirl pool or something like that.

So he sealed him up and then pushed him into the river and he was on his way. The first few days he took care of time. But finally he lost all track of time and sure enough he would sometimes ... think that he's not moving so he would look out through that crack and sure enough he's in a whirl pool, poosi. Then he would get himself out of that whirl pool with the stick that was given. It was for that purpose.

So then finally one day, so many days, so many nights, I don't know how long it was, but he just couldn't get himself out of a big one. It was too big, it was too high. So he was told whenever that happened he has to get out and go on foot. So that time he did that. He just couldn't get his drum out of that whirl pool so he had to go to the edge and got himself out of there, took everything out and started walking.

He started walking northwest. Got out of the canyon itself to the north side and started walking. From there on he started walking daily, resting at night. I don't know for how long but certainly for a long time before finally he got to a place which was above the rest, to the west. He was up on top up on a mesa like this. Something like that, so he looked west. Far in the distance he can see, look like a corn field there was green. So he thought that must be a field so he headed that way.

When he got closer close to it in so many length of time, then he could see some others, some other human beings walking from the west side toward that same field. See he was approaching the field from the east. So finally he got to the field and sure enough it was a corn field. I don't know who it belongs to but it was a corn field. So he went in and walked, started walking among the corn.

Right in the middle of that corn field, the other two and that's where they met. He found out it was a couple of girls. Beautiful girls and they told him after when they met, they told him that he was coming so they were expecting him. "So we're going to take you from here now."

So come along from there they headed west. As soon as they got out of the corn field one of the girls said, "You two wait here, I'll go here." She came back with some kind of a deal and [said] "From here on we'll take this so we don't have to walk". So she spread that in front of them. "All right you two get on." So when they got on she got on too. And he did something to it and it started spinning. Started spinning and took off. It was an airplane, probably something like that ... *Patuwvota*, ... a round object, probably coiled basket. But that's what they traveled on, the Hopis. So that's what they took from there.

It's a flying object, it flies ... So that's what they took from there and of course they were traveling faster, much faster than walking. Just before sun down they got to a place. I guess that's where they were headed for. So they landed and they landed right on top of a kiva which was those girl's home.

"Alright," they told him, "this is where we're going to. This is where you're going to stay for the time being. You're going to spent the night here also."

So they hollered into the kiva. "Hey welcome our visitor, we got a visitor with us, we're not alone", they shouted into the kiva and from the kiva.

Of course, I guess, there was other people down there, so they all said "Come in, come in."

So they went in. The girls went in first and one of the girls told him ahead of time, right where the ladder sticks out, "Don't be afraid of it ... he won't harm you, he won't do anything to you," she told him. So he was, I guess, he was aware of it. Then so when it was his turn to go down, he found out there was a big coiled snake on both sides of that ladder. So, well, he's been told that they wouldn't do anything to him so he wasn't that much afraid of them. So he went down.

When he entered there were people down there. A lot of people. They welcomed him, placed him at a certain place, told him to relax and rest and after when he did that they served him food. So he ate and sat for a while then it was real supper time. Then everybody joined in supper.

After supper than they told him, "You're going to sleep here tonight." So I guess it was bed time, so they started making their beds and they made a bed for him on the upper part of the kiva. It's inside but it's the upper part. So he slept and finally he went to sleep.

... according to him he didn't sleep much when they started getting up again, people down there. He started getting up and going out and finally one of these girls who brought him there came up. "Alright you're coming along with us, so get up."

So they got him up and finally it was the girls turn to go out. So he followed them out. After when they got out from the kiva they went east, eastward toward the sun. When they got off the kiva ... they went east for a little while. Then he found out that there was all kinds of snakes on the ground and ... he saw all the snakes that were on the ground ... were flat and thin.

And then the girls told him that they were sucking in, inhaling in the gray dawn. That's what they were feeding on. By that time the gray dawn was on. That's what they were feeding on, she told him, "That's what we eat every morning; every morning we eat the gray dawn." When one gets filled then he goes back to the kiva and goes in.

But since he's not a snake, so he didn't. He just saw what was happening and they took him back to the kiva. He went back in. About half an hour, fifteen minutes later they started going back out again. So he went along with them and this time they were feeding on the yellow dawn.

He's been told now, "We're feeding on the yellow dawn. We eat this every morning. We do this every morning." After that they went back in. Then they really had breakfast. Then they ask him, "What is the purpose of your being here?"

"Well," he told them, "I always wondered where the sun came up and where it goes, where it sets. Also about this river here, where it goes where it ends."

Then they told him they don't know also. They don't know where the river goes; where the sun comes up from and where it goes. They don't know. "Sorry we can't help you. You have to find out for yourself. You have to find out yourself," they told him.

So after breakfast then they started preparing the girls. "Well pretty soon you're going to be on your way. It's far away and it's best that you have an early start so you can have enough time to get there."

So that's what happened. They prepared them and then they took off there. I mean first thing he remembered his father had made him a lot of prayer feathers. White ones and red ones and he also made some *paho*. Then he thought this must be the place where some of those things are intending for because you look at their altar it was all faded and none of the *pahos* were new. They were old, faded. Also their headdresses were, some of it were just the bones of the feathers that were hanging from there hair. So he distributed all that red feather there. Which is call *tsunakwa*, right? He distributed that red prayer feathers among them.

They were glad to receive it they were so happy with joy. They keep telling him, "Thank you, thank you. Nobody has ever done this for us. Nobody has came around here to renew our head feathers, also our altar is new now. You renewed everything. Everything is renewed and we thank you for it."

So that's how he got rid of the first batch there. So after when he did that, the girls and he himself got out of the kiva and they started westward on that same thing. They traveled almost all day. Finally they got somewhere that it was a shiny place, a shiny place which was the pacific ocean.

"So this is where we are headed for," they told him. So they sat down. "From here on, you go by yourself. We're not going to go along but when you are ready to come home, just — we'll know." they told him. "And look west as far as you can see. That is the place where you are going. See that little black dot, do you see it? You look westward and just a big as a period on the end of a sentence. A dark little spot, that's where your going."

So after that after they told him that they unwrapped their bundle, what they had with them. What they had was they both had a batch corn flour and they both put their flour together and made into a ball. Into a big ball, and they threw it into the ocean and the ocean separated for the boy.

"O.K., go ahead." So as soon as he started walking through that parted ocean, right behind him it was closing up, behind him. But finally he made it to the place where he was going and sure enough when he got there it was another kiva.

It was another kiva, when he got on top of it somebody already heard him said "Come in, come in. I hear someone's here."

So he went in. Found out it was just an old lady, old woman down there by herself. And they got to talking and he told her the same story. What he thinks about the sun and the water. And by that time he found out where the water drains into. It drains into the Pacific Ocean. So after when they talked for awhile and the old woman fed him and then told him, "You better hide behind the altar, he's going to be here pretty soon. Any minute he's going to be here."

And so just when the old woman hid him behind the altar they heard the turtle shell up on top and that's when the sun came home. It was the sun set. As soon as he did that, it just seems like someone slid down the ladder and it was the sun himself.

So as soon he came in, this boy was watching him and he had both hands full of prayer feathers and stuff like that, corn meal. And those are the prayer feathers that the people had gone out to pray with that morning. So then he started to give those prayer feathers and the prayers to the old woman that was down there, which was his grandmother, the sun's grandmother. "Alright this one belongs to Erice, he wants this; he wants so and so which is good. Alright this one belongs to Herschel, he wants a lot of money." This isn't so necessary so put this one over here. "And this one belongs to so and so and he wants somebody to get sick." so this one way back over there. "We got no time for that yet."

They separated all that which is good and in between and that and the bad. They separated all that. So after that is done then the sun said, "Hey I think there is someone. I can feel it." he said.

"No, no there's no one here. No one never comes here, you know that."

"Well someone's here," he said.

"Well look and see if you can find someone."

Then he went straight to the altar and looked behind and there was the boy. And then the sun told him, "Alright get out, I see you. I saw you. I see you, so get out. Come out."

So he had to come out and after when he got him out of there and he said "Well, I don't have that much time."

By that time the old woman was preparing to feed the sun. So as soon as she was finished, the sun sat down to eat. "As soon as I eat, I have to go, go be on my way but you stay here. Next time I'll take you along but today you stay here with grandma," he said.

So as soon as he finished eating than he slid down the ... *duvaki* that was under there. By that time it was daylight in the other world, in Russia. And it was night here on our earth.

"So that's how it's being done". So the next so he slept there. The boy slept there the next morning they talked with the old woman there, their grandma. They talked about all these things, how he thought of the sun, what he thinks of it. Where it sets, where it comes up from, where the water drains into, where it goes and now that he found out too, this is the place where it sets.

"This is where the sun sets," the old woman told him. "Now you know. Tomorrow, today he'll take you along."

So by evening same thing happened. The same sun came back brought some more prayers, separated them, ate, and told the boy, "Get on my back, I'm taking you along this time."

So he went along, by that time it was daylight in the other world. So the sun told him , "You look carefully, see what you see, absorb as much as you can."

So that's what he did and, of course, the sun, the sun is the first one that sees everything what happens in the world. When a couple gets into an argument, when they fight, when a murder is committed, he's the first one to know. That is the reason why sometimes when the sun comes home in the evening, he comes home with bloody hands. That's when something like that has happened.

So you watch, he's seen all that in the other world also, what goes on. And some of the people start to pray to the sun around noon time and according to the sun that's not right. You're not supposed to do that but some people do. It's best you do it in the morning when the sun is just coming up. The sun told him this too.

So finally they arrived at the other place. Of course it sets there also in the other world, but that is the place where it rises from the next morning. Same thing is there just another old woman which is their grandma. So he left him there with the

grandma. "You stay here. I'll go along tomorrow. Tomorrow I'll take you back home."

So he left him there and they talked there also and he told her the same thing that he told the others. What he thought of the sun and also the river, and now that he's finding out what happens. So they talked and talked, and how the sun works and things like that. By the time the next trip would happen the old lady has given the boy a bag.

"A bag, you take this along, you take this. It's closed tight. Don't be opening it. Don't open until you get back to your people. That's the only time you will open it and until when you get back home you gather all your people all your relatives and talk to them. Tell them about what you've seen what happened. And then after when you're through with that, that's the only time you will open it," The old woman told him, "at the place where the sun comes up from."

So by that time when she told him that then he presented her with these, his prayer feathers, and for the altar which he did at the first place where he sets. I forgot to mention that one but he did that so... His father must have known that, he must have known what it is so he made exactly the right amount of the stuff that he gave him.

So the old woman was so happy to receive all that for the altar and for herself and even for the some of feathers for the ladder. Anything like that.

So that day he went along with the sun again back to the place where it sets. When they got there the old lady also presented him. Gave him another bag which was tied and told him the same thing, "When you get back home, gather your relatives, your people. Talk to them about what you have seen, what you have experienced, then open it."

So same thing, both grandmas told him the same thing. So the next day early the grandma told him, "O.K., you have a long way to go, especially if you start right now, so you can get back there in time."

So he started walking from there after breakfast and finally the old woman there did the same thing, threw a ball of flour into the ocean and it separated and he started walking. When he got out of the ocean the two girls where there again. Somehow they knew that he was coming back home so they traveled on the same thing, back to their house again.

After when they got to the girls house, the chief there told the boy, "Well, you're going to be on your way and I want you to take both of these girls who brought you here. And I want you to take them as wives. They're yours. They brought you here and you take them."

So they traveled on that same ship and when they — at this time they didn't stop at the corn field and they just passed it and went directly to where the boys started from. They landed there and they were told to as soon as they land to put that ship back into the river and he will get back home on the river.

So that's what they did. As soon as they got off of it they put it in the water and just floated down with the water and there they started towards the boys home. Then after when they got home he did the thing that the old two grandmas told him. To gather his relatives and the people and so that night he started talking about what the trip that he made, took and what happened in detail. By the time when he was finished it was just getting daylight, took all night for him to talk about where he as been and what he did and all that.

Then he opened the bags and found a necklace in the first one and in the second one nothing but earrings. To hang on the neck.. That also was the right amount. So they were happy to receive it and from there on they, the two girls that come up with him, were there with him as his wives. And the older one was pregnant already. When by and by it had a little boy for him. By that time the other one was pregnant also. Nine months later another boy and since they were weren't ordinary human beings they grew up so fast that before it was six years they were as big as a six year old kid.

And they were, you know how the kids are, children are when they play, they get into an argument, fights, and all that. And when these little two boys, when they fight someone, they actually die. There is no cure for it and so that has something to do with being rattlesnakes. And when they shoot somebody with their bow and arrow they also die, it's instant. Even a little scratch of their arrow will effect them that way. They didn't kill too many but that's what happened and the people up there decided to get rid of them.

About the mother and the father and the children. Somebody has told their father, that's what they planned to do within eight days. So the father of the children told them, his family, that they have to leave in order to survive. And whoever wants to come along they were welcome to come along so before it was, before the eighth day came up they started off from there one night. I think it was the man's father that gave him something that, "Whenever you settle in a place where there's no water all you have to do is cut a piece off of this which I gave you and put it, plant it and you shall have water."

He finally found out what it was. It was a skin of a water snake. That's what the father gave him so whenever they settled down in a place where there's no water he will cut a little piece off of it and put it on the ground and the next day they would have water. That's how they started traveling westward from there.

When the people who decided to kill them on the eighth day found out that they had left that night so they started after them but then they decided, "Oh well, they're gone. They're gone, we don't have to worry about that."

So they just let him go so from there they headed west and they settled here and there, make camp here and there. Finally they —some years after that they came to Moencopi and from the east side of Moencopi looked down below. Then they went down, then they went on. Of course there was plenty of water but they were headed somewhere else. So they didn't stop there.

Maybe for a length of time they stop there and went on. Then finally they got to Wupatki and they were in Wupatki and when they found out there was a place called Old Oraibi. There was people living there so instead of going west from Wupatki, they headed back up this way, looking for Oraibi.

By that time another one of his wives was pregnant again and she was due any day. So they started headed this way. Finally one day the wife singled him and told him, "I'm going to stay here. I'm not going with you from here. But I'll always be here so whenever you or your people want anything from me, all they have to do is do this and that for me and I'll always be around here. So from here this morning I'm not going along but this evening when you make camp you come back. You come back and find me see how I am."

So that morning one of the wives didn't go who was pregnant. So that evening when they settled down he went back. The man he went back got to the place where he left her that morning. But she wasn't there. He followed her tracks to the north. Finally he caught up and there was a whole bunch around her. Every kind of animal, birds, she had them, the lady. Instead of a child, she had all kinds of rabbits, deer, anything else you can name. She gave birth to them instead of a child. That's when there was still some more coming out of her, snakes, all that turkeys. Which are, which some are edible like the rabbits. But since she's comes from a snake people, of course, the snake has to be there too.

So this is what he found out and his wife told him, "This is what I want you to see. These are all my children, they belong to me. So if you want them, all you have to do is prepare and pray to me and put your prayer things for me put it away. I'll get it and I'll give you whatever you want." That's all she told, "Now you go."

So he found out what happened. So after that he got back to the camp. Next morning in a few days they got to Old Oraibi. Of course they had to prove what they can do. So the chief asked them, what can you do to help the village?

"We can make rain, we know a snake dance, we can do that. But we can, I can also tell you that when everything is over in the season, summer time when everything is over, even the home dance, when that is over, then, only then we will have our turn will have the snake dance.

"Alright, alright."

So that's how they were accepted into Old Oraibi. It's been said ever since then when there's a rain, when there's a snake dance it always rains because they have the necklaces that came from the sun where it sets; they have the earrings that goes with it, that came from the sun, where it rises from. Also the water from in which he traveled to find these things. At that time the people have those necklaces and at the present time right now they say that those necklaces are still in existence but nobody knows where. But it's somewhere, this is about the way it would be....

IISAW ÖNGMOKTO (COYOTE ON A SALT EXPEDITION)

Hopi cultural advisors note that coyote stories are often told to children.¹⁷⁸ These popular narratives often include moral teachings. One such coyote tale is included in a collection of *tutuwutsi* published by Malotki and Lomatuway'ma (1984:126-139). This narrative is titled "*Iisaw Öngmokto*" or "Coyote on a Salt Expedition."

In this tale, Coyote youngsters playing with children learned about the salt crystals that the children wore around their neck. These salt crystals tasted delicious and the young Coyotes asked where they came from, learning that they come from a salt deposit in the Grand Canyon. The young Coyotes went home and asked their father Coyote to go to the Grand Canyon to get them some salt since it made food taste so good. The father Coyote makes several attempts to go the Grand Canyon to get salt but is foiled each time by the brothers *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* who trick the Coyote. Twice when the Coyote went to sleep while enroute to the Grand Canyon, the brothers carried him back to his house and put him in his bed. On the third try the Coyote descended into the canyon but after he climbed out and went to sleep the brothers filled his basket with rocks. The Coyote returned to the canyon and descended a second time to collect salt, only to have the brothers fill his basket with rocks again when he slept. The Coyote made a third descent into the canyon to collect salt and returned all the way home without resting along the trail. This time the *Pöqangwhoya* and *Palöngwawhoya* brothers playing shinny near Shungopavi village saw him and snuck into his house that night before the salt was unpacked. The brothers once again replaced the salt with rocks. The next morning the Coyote went hunting and returned to unpack the salt so his family could have a feast. When the Coyote found the salt was switched with rocks he seethed with anger and dumped the rocks outside. The story concludes by noting that "The brothers *Pöqangwhoya* and *Palöngwawhoya* were responsible for doing this to Coyote; therefore coyotes do not like salt. And here the story ends" (Malotki and Lomatuway'ma 1984:139).

THE CATHOLIC PRIEST WHO MADE HOPIS GET WATER

In 1955, Lomavaya recounted a Hopi tradition concerning how the Franciscan Fathers required their ancestors to go to the Colorado River to get sweet water. Lomavaya added (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1955:341), "In those days it is very dangerous for anyone to travel. Many did not return, and when the fair maidens, girls, grow up, these people liked to keep them together all alone. After discovering this they all decided to get rid of [the Catholic priests]." Hopi cultural advisors still remember this account of the Spanish priest who sent their ancestors to get water from a pure spring along *Pisisvayu*.¹⁷⁹ They report this spring may be a source of water for the Flute Society.

Edmund Newquatewa (1967:43-44) provided another version of this narrative.

Now this man, Tota-achi (the Priest) was going from bad to worse. He was not doing the people any good and he was always figuring what he could do to harm them. So he thought out how the water from different springs or rivers would taste and he was always sending some man to these springs to get water for him to drink, but it was noticed that he always chose the men who had pretty wives. He tried to

¹⁷⁸ Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, p. 10.

¹⁷⁹ Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 21, 1991, p. 4.

send them far away so that they would be gone two or three days, so it was not very long until they began to see what he was doing. The men were even sent to the Little Colorado River to get water for him, or to Moencopi. Finally, when a man was sent out he'd go out into the rocks and hide, and when the night came he would come home. Then, the priest, thinking the man was away, would come to visit his wife, but instead the man would be there when he came. Many men were punished for this.

In 1915, Hough (1915:204-205) related an account of a friar at Oraibi who did not "relish" the water from the springs near that pueblo and consequently compelled the Hopis to bring water from Moenkopi. One Hopi tried to fool the Catholic priest by filling his canteen at Oraibi but the priest could taste the difference in the water and compelled him to go to Moenkopi. Whiteley (1988b:17) and Wiget (1982:185) also refer to this narrative, also identifying the water source as Moencopi.

One cultural advisor interviewed for the GCES project said he had been told by his grandfather that the Catholic priest sent Hopis to the Grand Canyon. This advisor thought the location the Hopis obtained water from was Vasey's Paradise.¹⁸⁰ He said,

There is a Catholic church, ruins of a catholic church up on the mesa ... over at Oraibi. The pope there, or the priest there, indicated that was the only water he would drink, and he would sent runners. Until they got wise up, because he would always chose the runners, that had the best looking wives in the village ... Until one day, you know, one of the runners decided he was going to do, uh, a number. See, he went out a ways, stopped, hid, until everybody went by and came back. And it just so happened, that it was the day he came back in the morning. In the early hours of the morning. He did not go to his house, he went to his mothers corn crib and stayed there until the sun came up. And he watched the activity. And one of the first things he noticed, was that his wife was being led to the church by the priest. So he kind of stowed around a little bit, around the edge of the village, where nobody would see him, crept up onto the church, and saw an activity he did not appreciate. So, that resulted in, in the fact that they need to get rid of that person and the church he represented. And, they echoed it back, to New Mexico, to the pueblos, okay. So, it started, basically here. The revolt. But, the physical activity started the other end. The destruction of the churches, and my grandfathers and uncles, I suppose, were very instrumental — well, that is his claim. In the destruction of the church, and the person there.

Other cultural advisors also identified Vasey's Paradise in the Grand Canyon as *Yam'taqa* ("the place of the everflowing water"), the spring where their ancestors were forced to obtain water for Catholic priests. These accounts share many of the same narrative elements, such as the priest "deflowering" Hopi virgins and "visiting the wives of the men sent to collect water."¹⁸¹ The trail to Vasey's Paradise is said to descend into the Grand Canyon near *Pongyanuyqa* (Shinamu Altar).

¹⁸⁰ Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 15-18.

¹⁸¹ Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 18.

Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1993, pp. 21, 27.

Orville Hongeva in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 3.

One cultural advisor noted that the water from Vasey's Paradise was used for ritual purposes prior to the coming of the Spaniards.¹⁸²

Before the Catholics came about they were collecting that, but for their ceremonies only. So, obviously the Catholic Priest and Catholics were aware of it so they decided to allow themselves to use that and that's why they [the Hopis] were forced, even though it's not the time to get that water according to their religious practices. They were forced to go down there and collect that water for them [the Catholic priests]. Not the time of the ceremony, but they were forced to go down. I guess I told you at one time that it was too far and it wasn't the time, the right time to collect water, so they faked it and they collected water from the Little Colorado River, around Leupp. When they got back, the priest found out so they were forced to go back and get the water directly from Vasey's Paradise.

THE STORE ENCOUNTERED DURING A SALT PILGRIMAGE

Nellie Douma of the Corn Clan and Hilda Nahee of the Tobacco Clan, both from Polacca Village, told a version of a narrative handed down from their paternal relatives that prophesied the coming of the *Pahaana*, or white man (Hooper and Hooper 1977:21). In their words,

One of our ancestors was returning home from the salt trail. He saw a house. It was a Bahana house.

There were no tracks around the house. The door was open. Inside were supplies. There were shoes. And there were silver dollars which our ancestor thought were little plates, for he had never seen silver dollars.

The only thing he took was a little white sugar in a sack. He left a token for payment.

When he returned to our village he looked in the sack. There was no sugar — just white rocks.

He talked to the medicine man, who said, "Return at once and find the house."

He sent back but the house was gone. There was no sign of it. He could never find it again.

The medicine man said this meant that Bahana was coming. We would build Bahana houses. We would wear Bahana shoes. And we would use Bahana money for our trade.

And you see — we wear white man's shoes. We have white man's money. And some of us live in white man's houses.

Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 14-15.

¹⁸² Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1993, pp. 20-21.

In the course of describing the route of the Hopi Salt Trail in *Öngtupqa*, Harold Koruh referred to this "store" in the Grand Canyon.¹⁸³

The trail goes on the banks of the Little Colorado River as you go. Somewhere along there the river is an narrow where one crosses. Right in this area, when they went at that time, they came upon a big store. It was like a whiteman's store. Things were hanging here and there. Then they decided to see what it was but, they told themselves not to bother it. There was quite a number of them that went on the pilgrimage. The only ones that I remember was our uncle and Qotsyestewa and Wayne Susunkewa's uncle. I was just talking about him earlier. So, they continued on to the salt mine.

Koruh added that on their return back up the Little Colorado River, the Hopis found that the "store" was no longer there.

Simon Polingyumptewa also described a Hopi narrative about the vacant "trading post" that was seen along the pilgrimage trail in *Öngtupqa*.¹⁸⁴ There Hopi narrative Polingyumptewa referred to includes a description of the temptation this "store" presented and how the Hopis on the pilgrimage succumbed and took something. These Hopis then became burdened down and couldn't continue until they rid themselves of what they took. Other Hopi cultural advisors confirm that they have also heard this account.¹⁸⁵

Walter Hamana told a version of this narrative that he heard from his uncle who had gone on the pilgrimage when the "store" was discovered.¹⁸⁶ Hamana explained how this incident led to a Hopi prophecy. As he described, "'That's going to be the life of a whiteman' was the prophecy. That is risky. If you choose the lifestyle of a whiteman, you deprive your children because you have to pay for food, electricity. But what if you don't have any money? — You end up with nothing but a bedroll. But the Hopis decided they can help one another."

This narrative about a "store" in *Öngtupqa* is probably related to the Hopis first encounter of "Beamer's Cabin" near the mouth of the Little Colorado River. This cabin, situated adjacent to the Hopi Salt Trail, was built by a prospector by the name of Ben Beamer between 1880 and 1882 (Figure 18). Beamer constructed this cabin on top of a small ancestral Hopi settlement (Ahlstrom et al. 1993:99). To Hopis in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Beamer's Cabin would have had the appearance of a store, with Beamer's prospecting supplies stored on shelves.

¹⁸³ Harold Koruh, June 20, 1991, p. 3.

¹⁸⁴ Simon Polingyumptewa, interpreted by Abbott Sekaquaptewa, in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT meeting, June 13, 1991, p. 12.

¹⁸⁵ Hopi cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT meeting, December 13, 1994, p. 2.

¹⁸⁶ Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, pp. 6-7.



Figure 18. Hopi research team inspecting Beamer's Cabin in the Little Colorado River Gorge, October 19, 1994. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson.

CHAPTER 6

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF HOPI USE OF THE GRAND CANYON PRIOR TO 1882

By Gail Lotenberg

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the Hopi's relationship to a part of *Hopitutskwa* known today as the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River. It reviews the writings of early observers in the Southwest to document Hopi ties to the Grand Canyon. The focus of the chapter is the historical era before the establishment of the Hopi Reservation in 1882. After 1882, the inception of ethnographic studies by anthropologists contributed ethnohistoric information about the Hopi that is reviewed in Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 7. The early documentary records of travelers through Hopiland are used to compile statements about Hopi uses and perceptions of the Grand Canyon. This evidence demonstrates that Hopi involvement with the Grand Canyon entailed religious, economic, and social dimensions.

The chapter is divided into the three conventional periods in Southwestern history: the Spanish, Mexican, and American Periods. Under each of these major categories, a chronological arrangement of subheadings introduces each exploration party that documented significant information about Hopis and the Grand Canyon. Pertinent information about each expedition is summarized, focusing specifically on statements about Hopi connection to the Grand Canyon. At the end of the chapter, conclusions are drawn about the documentary evidence for Hopi ties to the Grand Canyon during the period from 1540 to 1882.

SPANISH PERIOD, 1540-1821

Coronado Expedition

The Hopi's first encounter with Europeans occurred in 1540 when two separate reconnaissance parties of a major Spanish exploratory expedition under the command of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado were sent to investigate reports of the Province of Tusayan, as the Hopi homeland was called at that time. The Spanish explorers traveled to Hopi with the expectation of finding a great civilization, resplendent with wealth. Their hopes of finding such a place had been fueled by the reports of Friar Marcos de Niza. During a preliminary reconnaissance of the northern frontier of New Spain in 1539, Marcos had learned from the Native peoples of today's southern Arizona that further north:

There are seven very large cities, all under one ruler, with large houses of stone and lime. The smaller ones are one story high with a terrace above; others are two and three stories high, and the ruler's house is four stories high; these houses are all joined in orderly manner. He says that the doorways to the best houses have many decorations of turquoises, of which there is a great abundance, and that the people in these cities are very well clothed. He told me many other details, both of these cities and of other provinces farther on, each one of which he claims to be much more important than these seven cities (Hammond and Rey 1940:66).

When Marcos returned from his journey, he told officials in New Spain about these wealthy regions to the north. His stories seemed to suggest that the legendary Seven Cities of Cibola, which supposedly had been discovered in the 8th century by seven fugitive bishops (Covey 1961:12), actually existed at Zuni in the northern territory. Furthermore, his reports intimated that beyond Cibola there would be even wealthier provinces for the Spaniards to contact. Encouraged by the friar's surveillance, Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza commissioned Coronado to lead a large-scale expedition into the north to locate these provinces (Hammond and Rey 1940:6).

In April 1540, Coronado's expedition departed Culiacán heading toward the Sonora River Valley. Eventually reaching the Gila River, the expedition crossed the river and then proceeded northeastward, toward the headwaters of the Little Colorado River. On July 7, 1540, the Spaniards reached the Zuni village of Hawikku (Hodge 1937:41-46). Expecting to find the fabulously wealthy Seven Cities of Cibola, the Zuni agricultural villages proved a grave disappointment to the explorers. From the Zunis, Coronado learned that within a few day's journey to the northwest there were seven villages in the Province of Tusayan (Hammond and Rey 1940:213-214). Coronado immediately ordered a reconnaissance team to journey to the Hopi villages to investigate. Under the leadership of Pedro de Tovar, a party of twenty or twenty-one soldiers along with Father Padilla departed Hawikku on July 15 by foot and horse toward the Hopi Mesas (Hammond and Rey 1940:214).

Tovar and his party reached Antelope Mesa with the assistance of Zuni guides, arriving at either Awatovi or Kawaika'a-a (Bolton 1949:135; Brew 1941:38-39; Adams 1978:21). Upon their arrival, the Spaniards went unnoticed by the inhabitants of the Hopi village they approached. According to the official chronicler for the Coronado expedition, Pedro de Castañeda, the Hopi failed to spot the Spaniards' approach because, the Hopi "did not leave their pueblos beyond their estates, especially at that time, for they had heard that Cibola had been conquered by very fierce men who rode animals that ate people" (Hammond and Rey 1940:214). It was not until the next morning that the Hopi recognized the arrival of their guests. Castañeda reports that the Hopi immediately, "formed their ranks and set out after them, well armed with arrows, shields, and wooden maces" (Hammond and Rey 1940:213-214). The military prowess of the Spaniards quickly overwhelmed the Hopi, however, forcing the Hopi to deal with the invaders with diplomacy rather than militarism.

When Tovar returned to Hawikku, he reported to Coronado that during his visit with the Hopi, "information was obtained of a large river" (Hammond and Rey 1940:215). Coronado decided that the report of a large river warranted further investigation. In addition to Coronado's overland exploration, Viceroy Mendoza had ordered Hernando de Alarcón to sail northward to explore the waterways of the frontier region. Mendoza had told him, that wherever possible, he should seek out Coronado's party and provide them with replenishment of supplies (Hammond and Rey 1940:117-118,121). Coronado hoped that Tovar's report would be the key to reconnecting with Alarcón and the much-needed provisions (Lavender 1982:17). Coronado "dispatched Don García López de Cárdenas to Hopi with about twelve men [twenty-five according to Bolton] to explore this river" (Hammond and Rey 1940: 215; Bolton 1949:138).

On August 25, Cárdenas and his party departed Zuni for the Hopi Mesas (Bolton 1949:138). Castañeda reports that upon the Spaniards' arrival, they were "well received and lodged by the natives." Also, he reports that the Hopi provided Cárdenas with guides for his journey to the large river--which, as it turns out, was the Colorado River (Hammond and Rey 1940:215). Castañeda's chronicle is the only extant account of this expedition and because it serves as the earliest written document connecting Hopis to the Grand Canyon, the section describing the Grand Canyon is quoted in its entirety. Castañeda (Hammond and Rey 1940:215-217) wrote:

They [the explorers and Hopi guides] set out from there laden with provisions, because they had to travel over some uninhabited land before coming to settlements, which the Indians said were more than twenty days away. Accordingly when they had marched for twenty days they came to the gorges of the river, from the edge of which it looked as if the opposite side must have been more than three or four leagues away by air. This region was high and covered with low and twisted pine trees; it was extremely cold, being open to the north, so that although this was the warm season, no one could live in this canyon because of the cold.

The men spent three days looking for a way down to the river; from the top it looked as if the water were a fathom across. But, according to the information supplied by the Indians, it must have been half a league wide. The descent was almost impossible, but, after these three days, at a place which seemed less difficult, Captain Melgosa, a certain Juan Galeras, and another companion, being the most agile, began to go down. They continued descending within the view of those on top until they lost sight of them, as they could not be seen from the top. They returned about four o'clock in the afternoon, as they could not reach the bottom because of the many obstacles they met, for what from the top seemed easy, was not so; on the contrary, it was rough and difficult. They said that they had gone down one-third of the distance and that, from the point they had reached, the river seemed very large, and that, from what they saw the width given by the Indians was correct. From the top they could make out, apart from the canyon, some small boulders which seemed to be as high as a man. Those who went down and who reached them swore that they were taller than the great tower of Seville.

The party did not continue farther up the canyon of the river because of the lack of water. Up to that time they had gone one or two leagues inland in search of water every afternoon. When they had traveled four additional days the guides said that it was impossible to go on because no water would be found for three or four days, that when they themselves traveled through that land they took along women who brought water in gourds, that in those trips they buried gourds of water for the return trip, and that they traveled in one day a distance that took us two days.

Castañeda's account reveals quite clearly that the Hopi had an intimate knowledge of the geography of the Grand Canyon, and that they traveled along the trails in the region on a regular basis. The Hopi guides knew that the Colorado River was much wider than it appeared from the vantage point of the canyon's south rim. It is interesting to note, however, that the description of the river as "half a league wide" is an exaggeration. Half of a league equals approximately 2 km or 1.3 mi (Warner 1976:4), and no portion of the river bed within the Grand Canyon is this wide. The Spaniards who reported the information to Castañeda may have overstated the distance across the river, or the Hopi's estimate may have been altered in the process of translation. The Hopi may have actually described the width of the canyon floor rather than the width of the river bed.

Despite the fact that the Hopi knew and used the trails that traversed the Colorado Plateau and descended into the Grand Canyon, the Hopi guides for the Cárdenas expedition failed to bring the explorers to the river. Some anthropologists and historians have interpreted this outcome as a purposeful ploy on the part of the Hopi to misguide the Spaniards (Hughes 1967:20-21). Anthropologist J. O. Brew, for instance, surmises that, "The failure to find a trail down suggests that perhaps Cárdenas did not have the complete cooperation of the Hopi guides" (Brew 1979:519). Similarly, George Wharton James contends the fact that the Hopi did not use the sacred Hopi Salt

Trail to guide the Spaniards to the Colorado River implies the Hopis were purposefully frustrating the efforts of the explorers (James 1911:240-241).

Although it is possible to reach the Grand Canyon via the Hopi Salt Trail, this is both a spiritually dangerous and physically demanding route that could not be traveled in its entirety on horseback. The fact that the Hopi did not guide the Spaniards along the sacred Hopi Salt Trail does not necessarily indicate an act of defiance; it may demonstrate instead the great religious significance that the Hopi Salt Trail has for Hopi. The Hopi guides may not have taken the Spaniards down the Salt Trail because it is a ceremonial route used for religious pilgrimages to important Hopi shrines, such as the *Sipapuni*. Only men who are ritually initiated should undertake these expeditions into the canyon, and only at prescribed times. The reasons for the restrictions of travel along this trail are esoteric. The trail symbolically represents the genesis of the Hopi people into this world from the underworld, and also symbolizes the route back to the underworld after death.¹⁸⁷ Although the Salt Trail provided a route into the canyon, it is not for use by the spiritually unprepared, nor is it to be used for casual purposes (Simmons 1942:232-246; Titiev 1937; Colton and Colton 1931:36). The trail which accessed the Colorado River by way of Havasupai villages is less dangerous and was therefore probably more appropriate for guiding the Spanish explorers. The Spaniards may have also wanted to meet other Native Americans in the region, and this objective could not be met using the Hopi Salt Trail.

Although Brew and others are correct in asserting that the Hopi were distrustful of the explorers, especially after their initial encounter with the Tovar party, the dynamics of contact should not be oversimplified. Castañeda states that the party's destination was the settlements located more than twenty days past some uninhabited lands, which suggests that the party was heading to the Havasupai village. Twenty days seems like an inordinate length of time for this journey, however, and some scholars have suggested this was an exaggeration (Euler and Dobyns 1971:28). If the Hopi were heading toward the Havasupai village, the destination was a familiar one since the Hopi went there often for trade (Colton 1941:308).

Castañeda writes that the party reached a point on the rim of the Grand Canyon where it could view both the river and the region to the north. Desert View, between the Hopi mesas and Havasu Creek, provides this vantage point (Bolton 1949:139; Lavender 1982:18). The party failed to reach its destination, according to Castañeda, because of the slow pace of travel. As Castañeda observes, the Hopis noted that it took the Spaniards two days to travel the same distance which the Hopis could travel in a single day. The party eventually abandoned its objective of reaching the Colorado River because water supplies were insufficient to complete the journey.

On the party's return trip from the vicinity of Desert View, the explorers came to a place where salt crystals had formed off the ledge of a waterfall. Castañeda wrote that the Spaniards, "saw a waterfall which came down a rock. They learned from the guides that some clusters which hung like fine crystals were salt. They went thither and gathered quantities of it which they brought and distributed when they returned to Cíbola" (Hammond & Rey 1940:216-217). Although others have proposed that this salt source was the sacred Hopi salt mine in the Grand Canyon (e.g., Bartlett 1940:44), this seems unlikely. If Cárdenas had reached this salt deposit he would also have succeeded in reaching the Colorado River, a fact which certainly would have found its way into

¹⁸⁷ Leigh Jenkins interview, August 26, 1992.

Castañeda's chronicles. Moreover, as discussed above, restrictions against travel to this sacred place would most probably have precluded such a visit.

It is likely that the Cárdenas party gathered its salt from a place known as "Old Man Salt," located on the Little Colorado River.¹⁸⁸ This was an alternate source of salt used by older men who were no longer physically able to pilgrimage into the Grand Canyon to the Hopi Salt Mine on the Colorado River. It is possible that the Spaniards could have gathered salt at this mine and then continued on their journey back through Hopi Mesas and on to Hawikku.

After reuniting with Coronado in Hawikku, the Spanish expedition moved on with their inquiries into other regions. It would be another forty-three years before the next Europeans visited the Hopi villages, and for all those who were to visit Hopi land over the next three and half centuries, none would ever go to the Grand Canyon again with the Hopi. For this reason, Coronado's expedition was perhaps one of the most instrumental of all documented meetings between Hopis and non-Indians, in terms of recording Hopi's historic use and knowledge of the Grand Canyon.

Espejo Expedition

Antonio de Espejo, a very enthusiastic supporter of Spanish expansion and a very wealthy man, seized the opportunity to follow up on reports from the Chamuscado expedition. In 1582, he headed north via the Rio Grande Valley, where he learned of the Hopi pueblos. The expedition's chronicler, Diego Perez de Luxán, wrote, "We were informed in this locality that ten or twelve days farther on was a very rich province with Mexican people; and that thirty days still farther on were the provinces called Maxosa [Moqui or Hopi] and Suny [Zuni]" (Hammond & Rey 1966:178). Eventually, in 1583, the party headed westward from the Rio Grande to the lands of the Zunis and Hopis.

Arriving first at Zuni, Espejo and his men stayed with the Zunis for almost three weeks. When they traveled to the Hopi Mesas, they were accompanied by as many as one hundred fifty Zuni guides. (Bolton 1916:185) Luxán wrote in his journal,

Our arrival being noticed by the natives, a few of the bravest came out to meet us. Even though it was almost sunset, so many people came from Aguato [Awatovi] in a short time with tortillas, tamales, roasted green-corn ears, corn and other things that although our friends [Zunis] were many, they had half of it left over. The natives asked for peace, and with trembling said it was a rumor falsely raised against them that they wanted to make war on us (Hammond & Rey 1966:189).

Peaceful encounters of this sort occurred at every stop which the Espejo party made at the Hopi villages, including Walpi, Shungopavi, Mishongnovi, and Oraibi. It was not until reaching Oraibi, according to Luxán, that the Spaniards learned more about the mines which they had come to investigate. At once, the entire party returned to Awatovi where five members of the group continued on back to Zuni. The remaining five explorers prepared for their journey to the mines with the assistance of Hopi guides (Hammond & Rey 1966:195). The destination of the group was probably the Verde River Valley (Bartlett 1942), where the explorers collected interesting information, although not pertinent to this study.

¹⁸⁸ Eric Polingyouma, Grand Canyon Salt, An Alternate Route.

Although Espejo's party traveled no further in the Colorado River region, their records help document Hopi's extensive travel throughout northern Arizona. They also document a clear familiarity between peoples of the Rio Grande and the Colorado River regions.

One interesting piece of information in Espejo's personal narrative of the expedition suggests Hopi use of the Grand Canyon. Espejo mentioned that when he was at Hopi, the Indians offered him some blue and green ores as a gift (Bolton 1916:186). These may be the same ores which the Hopi obtained from the Grand Canyon in the 20th century (Beaglehole 1937).

Oñate Expedition

In 1595, Juan de Oñate received royal permission to colonize New Mexico in the name of the Spanish empire. After years of logistical difficulties, in January 1598, Oñate's party finally embarked on its journey to the north (James 1974:40). When the party reached a point near present-day El Paso in the Rio Grande Valley, Oñate claimed possession "of all the kingdoms and provinces of New Mexico and the Rio del Norte [the Rio Grande] in the name of our Lord King Philip" (Bolton 1916:202). Oñate proceeded to contact the peoples of his new colony, and in November of that year he arrived at the Hopi Mesas (Bolton 1916:236-237).

While there, Oñate learned of the very same mines that Espejo had visited years earlier (Bolton 1916:237; Bartlett 1942). Marcos Farfán de los Godos led the expedition to these mines and returned with news that within thirty-days march from the mines, one could find pearls. The Native peoples of the area had been wearing these pearls and told Farfán that they could be obtained at the nearby sea, which they indicated by combining salt with water (Bolton 1916:245). News of these pearls interested Oñate. He had desired to lead an expedition from New Mexico to the sea (Bolton 1916:218), and news of pearls within thirty days of these mines, encouraged him. Also, Oñate learned from the Hopi that if he followed the nearby Little Colorado River to the northwest it eventually turned west and headed to California and on to the sea (Bolton 1916:269). The information the Hopi provided to Oñate substantiates their knowledge about the course of the Colorado River.

In 1604, Oñate finally set out on his mission to travel to the sea, being the first white man to travel an overland route from New Mexico to the Gulf of California. He stopped at the Hopi Mesas in the early part of his journey (Bolton 1916:269). From there he intersected the Little Colorado River, worked his way to the Verde River and possibly on to the Bill Williams River. Eventually Oñate reached the Colorado River and followed it to the Gulf of California (Bolton 1916:268-278). Native trails probably guided him through most of the journey (Hague 1978:21).

Missionary Period

Once Oñate claimed New Mexico for the Spanish empire, a gradual process of administrative consolidation began to take shape in Santa Fe. From this locus of control, the Spaniards extended their rule outward into the remote regions of what is today the states of New Mexico and Arizona. The wave of imperial presence reached Hopi in 1629, when 3 missionaries arrived in Awatovi to build the first of 5 Catholic missions in the Hopi pueblos. Over the next 50 years, the missionaries exerted significant control over the lifestyles of the Hopi. Their intention was not to document Hopi lifeways but to suppress them. Consequently, they offer no direct documentation of Hopi ties to the Grand Canyon (Brew 1949:8-18; Bartlett 1934:56-57).

Hopis recall the period of missionary control as a time of enslavement, literally and figuratively—when their view of the world was held captive to the ideas of others. Yet repression could not be sustained indefinitely over a people with a strong commitment to cultural and religious autonomy. In 1680, the Hopi joined with the other Native peoples of New Mexico in a revolt against Spanish control. The Hopi killed all of the missionaries residing in their villages (Brew 1979:521).

Reconquest of New Mexico

In 1692 the Spanish government began its reconquest of New Mexico under the leadership of Captain-General Diego de Vargas. In that year Vargas visited the Hopi Mesas and demanded their submission to Spanish control. The Hopi accepted his terms for the sake of expedience (Brew 1979:521), but they actually remained more resolute than ever in their conviction to repel Spanish and Christian infiltration. To insure success, the Hopi entered into a military alliance with their neighbors the Utes, Havasupais, and Navajos, according to Vargas' statement in a letter to his king (Sigüenza y Góngora 1932:84). This alliance provides additional proof of the active intercourse which took place among Native peoples living in the region of the Colorado River.

One other event in Vargas' early years in New Mexico documents the Hopi's use of the region surrounding the Grand Canyon. In a letter from his Viceroy, sent in 1691, Vargas received news that there was an unusually metallic red paint located between the Hopi Mesas and the Grand Canyon which the Hopi and others used to paint their bodies and faces. The letter states that (quoted in Colton 1941:39),

From the accounts of persons who have lived there I am told that in the revolted province of New Mexico is located the province of Moqui and that at a distance of twelve leagues from there toward the big river [the Colorado River] there is a range of mountains one of the most prominent in those parts, in which is found a metallic substance or earth containing vermilion. This is used by the Indians to paint themselves with, and by all the people especially the Spanish women to preserve the complexion.

As Colton (1948:125-125) related the history,

At this time, Spanish officials conducted an inquiry to determine if this mineral might be red cinnabar, a mercury ore used in Mexico to refine silver. Since red cinnabar was being imported to Mexico from Peru or Spain, the location of mercury ore in New Mexico would have been advantageous. The Spaniards documented at that time that Hopis traded the red pigment to Santa Fe, where the ladies preferred it to other forms of rouge. This red ore was described as being obtained from a cave four days travel from Oraibi. De Vargas was dispatched to Oraibi, where he obtained a burro load of the ore. This ore was shipped to Mexico City, where it assayed to be iron ore and not mercury.

The Hopi call this paint *suta*, and it is traditionally used in their religious ceremonies.¹⁸⁹ The Viceroy's letter documents that the Hopi had been obtaining *suta* from the Grand Canyon landscape from as early as 1691.

¹⁸⁹ Valjean Joshevama, August 25, 1992 Interview.

After Vargas' nominal reconquest of the Hopi, Franciscan friars managed to regain a foothold into Awatovi society (Brew 1949:22). Hopis from the other pueblos, determined to rid their lands of any Catholic sympathizers, ransacked the village of Awatovi, destroying it completely and either killing or taking as captive all of its inhabitants (Brew 1979:522; Brew 1949:23). This act of defiance in the winter of 1700-1701, exemplifies Hopi's level of commitment to repelling Spanish domination.

Jesuit missionaries also tried to establish missions among the Hopi in the reconquest period. None was even successful in making his way to the Hopi Mesas (Bolton 1948:106, 198, 237; Hague 1978:51-52), thus they recorded no information about Hopi ties to the Grand Canyon.

Padre Jacobo Sedelmair

Although Padre Jacobo Sedelmair of Tubutama set out in 1744 to visit the Moquis (Bancroft 1889:365-366), he never reached the Hopi Mesas. Yet, while visiting Native peoples near the confluence of the Colorado River and Bill Williams River, Sedelmair learned that the Moquis lived two or three days journey away, and that they had frequent commercial intercourse with the Colorado tribes.

Francisco Garcés

In the late 18th century the Spanish crown decided that it was important to increase Spanish settlement in Upper California for reasons of defense. As part of the effort to fortify Spanish control over this large and still-remote region, the king ordered that improved transportation routes be sought between strongholds in Spanish America and the new capital of Upper California, Monterey. It was Friar Francisco Garcés who managed to locate the most direct route connecting Monterey with the New Mexican capital of Santa Fe.

First, Garcés traveled from Monterey to the "Mojave" villages. It was from inhabitants of these villages that Garcés learned of the possibility of traveling across the Colorado River to reach New Mexico. When Garcés arrived at the Mojave villages, some Hualapai people from the Grand Canyon region were visiting and trading with Garcés' hosts. The Hualapais offered to guide Garcés on his journey to the interior (Galvin 1965:63; Hague 1978:94). They took him as far as the Havasupai settlements in Cataract Canyon. While visiting the Havasupai, Garcés inquired where they obtained their horses and cattle. He reports, "... they answered from Moqui, where there are many stolen livestock and many horses" (Galvin 1965:65-70).

From Cataract Canyon, the Havasupais guided the friar to the Hopi Mesas (Galvin 1965:65-69; Hague 1978:94-95). The route taken by Garcés traversed from the Havasupai village to the South Rim of the Grand Canyon, detoured around the Little Colorado River Gorge, and finally proceeded to Oraibi via Moencopi Wash. While Garcés sketch map is not an accurate depiction of the geography of the region, it illustrates the general route which he followed (Figure 19).

Throughout his travels and his friendly encounters with other Native peoples of the Colorado River country, Garcés recorded abundant evidence of Hopi's extensive trading relationships throughout the Grand Canyon region. For instance, Garcés found Hopi products at the Mojaves villages on the Colorado River and at the Havasupai settlement in the Grand Canyon (Galvin 1965:62,66). He also encountered Hopis trading with Yavapai Indians at a rancheria near the Little Colorado River (Galvin 1965:68). Garcés observed that the that Hopi's trading relationships spanned the Colorado River country, stating, "At present the Hopi Indians, with their trade in awls, digging-

sticks, grub hoes, knives, woven stuffs, and strips of red baize, are masters over all the nations" (Galvin 1965:94).

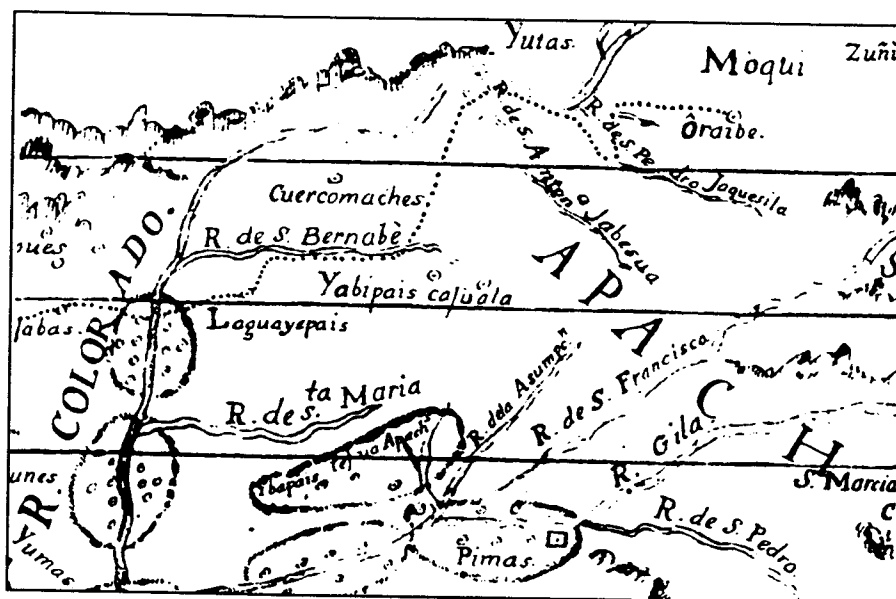


Figure 19. Portion of Garcés sketch map showing route from Colorado River to Oraibi. Source: (Galvin 1965).

In describing his visit to a Yavipai rancheria north of the Little Colorado River, which was occupied by 30 people, Garcés reports that (Galvin 1965:68),

Two Indians from Moqui had come to trade with these Yavipais. I found them dressed almost like Spaniards; they were wearing fine leather jackets. One of them kissed my hand. When I gave him a little tobacco and some shells he returned them to me. I called to the other, but he would not come near, nor kiss my crucifix, which the Yavipais offered to him. These Hopi Indians went away early the next morning, but I did not leave until the first of July.

After leaving the Yavipai rancheria, Garcés traveled through the Moenkopi area, where he saw a pueblo in "ruins" (Galvin 1965:68-69). However, Garcés also observed farm fields that were being cultivated by the Hopi in this area, and it may be that the "ruin" was actually a seasonally occupied farming village that he only thought was abandoned.

Garcés arrived at the village of Oraibi on July 2, 1776, accompanied by 8 "Yavipai" guides whom Garcés thought afforded him protection from the Hopi (Alter 1928:54). At Oraibi, however, only two of the Yavipai guides would enter the village, and Garcés was rebuffed by the Hopi. Two Hopi men signaled him that he should leave and one young man even refused to accept a gift of tobacco from the friar (Galvin 1965:69). This antagonism toward Garcés continued throughout his three-day visit among the Hopi.

After visiting Oraibi, Garcés discussed the political relations between the Hopi and the Pimas living along the Gila River, with whom he said the Hopi were at war. He conjectured that the Hopi territory used to extend to the Gila River, and described the ruins he had seen on there. Garcés concluded, (Galvin 1965:75),

... I am persuaded that it was probably the Hopis who came to fight; and that they, harassed by the Pimas, who have always been many and brave, abandoned these communities on the Gila River as they had deserted the pueblo I saw in ruins before reaching Moqui. They retreated to where they now live, at a favourable site well defended and safeguarded against any invasion.

Garcés summarized the political relations of the Hopi with their neighbors, stating (Galvin 1965:92),

The Hopis of Oraibe are friendly with all the Yavipais between the Gila and the Colorado, except the Tejua; with the Yutas; and with the rest of the Hopi pueblos, the missions of New Mexico, and all the southern Yavipais, who are the Indians that overrun these provinces; their enemies are the Tejua Yavipais, the Yutas of the Colorado, the Chemequavas, the Yumas, the Jamajabs, the Gileño Pimas, and the Cocomaircopas.

When he left Oraibi, Garcés got lost in an attempt to take a trail that led to the Yutas (Ute or Paiute), whom he said "live to the north and are enemies of the pueblo of Oraibe ... but not the other Hopi Indians." Garcés reports (Galvin 1965:77), "I learned I was going the wrong way from two Hopis whom I came upon; they good-naturedly put me on the right course."

In sum, Garcés' journal demonstrates that Hopi had frequent social and economic interaction with other Native peoples of the Colorado River region. It also documents a trail system which linked the Hopi to other peoples in the area, on both sides of the Colorado River.

Atanasio Domínguez and Silvestre Vélez de Escalante

When Garcés arrived at the Hopi Mesas, he sent a letter to Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, the Franciscan missionary residing at Zuni Pueblo, to inform him that he had succeeded in finding a direct transportation route from Monterey to the New Mexican territory. But Garcés' letter had to catch up with the friar, who had recently departed Zuni for Santa Fe where he was joining Friar Atanasio Domínguez and an entourage of other Spaniards and Native peoples for an expedition to California along a more northerly route.

Escalante had, only a year earlier, attempted to travel part of the way to California along the route which Garcés eventually traversed (Weinburg 1922:48-49). Meeting with resistance on the part of the Hopi, however, Escalante had been unable to accomplish his task. Yet, his effort demonstrates that in 1775, Escalante had recognized that the Colorado River corridor, which he called "the great river of the Cosninas," provided a feasible route to California (Hague 1978:73). He probably gleaned this information from the Zuni or the Hopi. During his 1775 visit to Hopi, Escalante encountered two Hopis who knew the land and had gone to Cojina (Havasupai) many times to trade. While he was at Hopi, he met a Cojinas Indian who was visiting the Hopi villages. This Cojinas drew Escalante a map depicting the landscape between the Hopi Mesas and the Grand Canyon (Adams 1663:130-131). Escalante's 1775 journey documents it was common in the 18th century for the Hopi and Havasupai to visit each other.

Escalante's second attempt to find a practicable route to California also ended in failure. After traveling a long and circuitous route through the present-day states of Colorado, Utah, and northeastern Arizona, Domínguez and Escalante completed their journey at Zuni rather than California. Nonetheless, the Domínguez-Escalante expedition served a useful function of recording a great deal of information about the areas through which he traveled and of the people who he contacted. In Escalante's journal, for instance, strong evidence exists of familiar relations between the Hopi and their Paiute neighbors on the north side of the Grand Canyon. Escalante noted in his journal that in a conversation with the Ute-speaking peoples near today's Paria River, the "people now gave clearer notices of the Cosninas and Moquinos, speaking of them by these very names" (Bolton 1928:71).

Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, a noted Spanish cartographer, was a member of the Domínguez-Escalante expedition. He produced a series of maps that illustrated the territory they had traveled through in greater detail than had been previously accomplished (Auerbach 1943:1-10). Figure 20 shows a portion of one of Miera's maps (Miera 1778). Although Miera's map does not accurately portray the main region of the Grand Canyon, on some copies he referred to the Marble Canyon segment as "mui excarpada" (Pyne 1982:6). Interestingly, Miera's map failed to depict the eastern bend of the Colorado, while Garcés's map failed to show the western bend. The Miera map contains valuable ethnographic information. The area to the north of Moqui is shown to have been inhabited by the Yuta Payuchis (Paiutes), to the west by the Coninas (Havasupi), to the south by the Apachis de Gila con nombre Mescaleros (Apaches), and the southeast by the Zunis. The Provincia de Nabajoo (Navajo) is depicted to the east of the Hopi region. Miera's map provides an 18th century Spanish perspective on the courses of the Rio Colorado and the Rio de los Coninas (Little Colorado River and Dinnebet Wash).

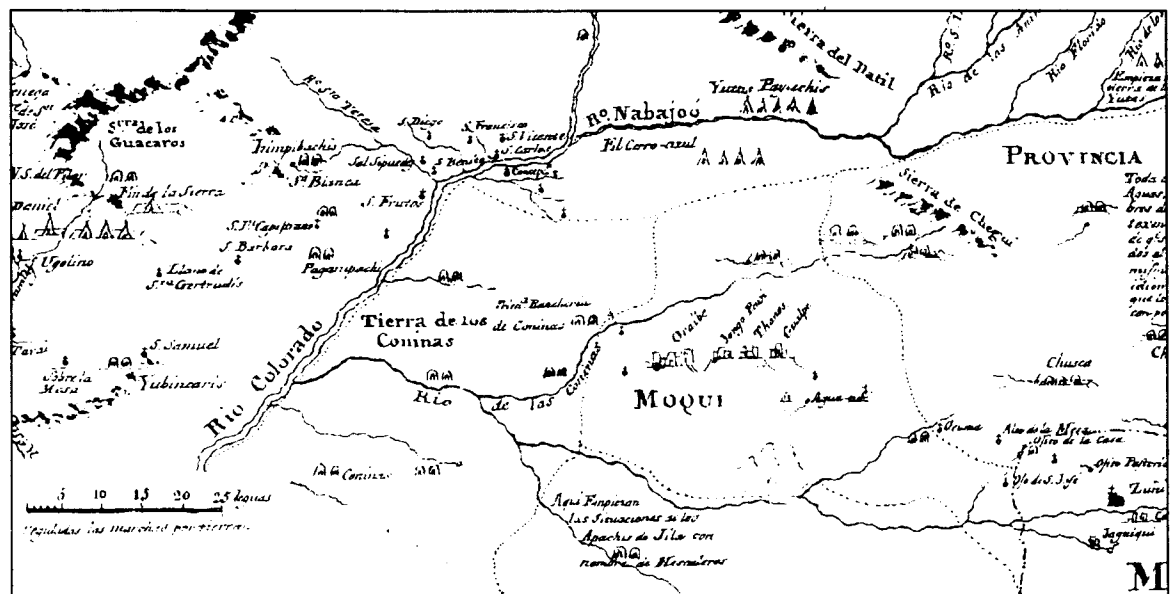


Figure 20. Portion of map by Miera y Pacheco depicting geography explored during 1776 Domínguez-Escalante expedition (adapted from the original in the Western Americana Collection of The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Archive, Yale University).

Escalante's journal provides numerous statements substantiating the fact that in the 18th century a highly developed trail system between the north and south sides of the Colorado River existed. He noted, for example, that from settlements in today's Arizona strip, Paiutes directed he and his traveling companions to the river, "giving us directions for the ford" (Bolton 1928:71). Following these directions, the Escalante party arrived in the area of Navajo Mountain. From there, the Spaniards traveled approximately fifteen miles on the southwestern side of the mountain along a trail which they described as "a well-beaten path" (Warner 1976:102). For a while, the explorers lost the established trail and wandered around the north rim of Navajo Canyon looking for a place to cross the gorge. They stumbled upon a camp of San Juan Paiutes, who eventually put them back on course. These Indians directed Escalante to "two trails, one toward the Cosninas [Havasupais] and the other to El Pueblo de Oraibi in Moqui" (Warner 1976:104). The trail which the explorers took to Oraibi was a well-maintained trail, having been built up "with loose stones and sticks." There was even a staircase constructed along a portion of its path. Anthropologists Pamela Bunte and Robert Franklin think that, "These improvements bespeak the importance of the road and of the interaction that took place along it" (Bunte and Franklin 1987:42-43).

Eventually Escalante and company reached the Hopi village of Oraibi along this trail. Their visit would be the last known contact between Hopis and Spaniards before the Spanish colonial empire lost control over its possessions in the Americas.

MEXICAN PERIOD, 1821-1848

Spanish colonists from Chiapas to Upper California united in 1810 to fight a war for independence from Spain. They formed the Republic of Mexico in 1821 and exerted control over this extensive region of North America for the next twenty seven years. In 1848, however, Mexico was forced by treaty to cede its claim to territories north and west of the Rio Grande, including Hopiland, to the United States of America. During the Mexican period of rule, it appeared that only one government official ever visited the Hopi. Much of what we know about the documentary history of Hopi during this period comes from the writings of the region's trappers and traders.

Vizcarra's Campaign Against the Navajo

In 1823, the governor of New Mexico, Jose Antonio Vizcarra, came to the Hopi Mesas as part of a campaign waged against Navajos in the region. For assistance in tracking down the scattered Navajo settlements, Vizcarra at times used Hopis as guides. Hopis directed Vizcarra's troops to places west and north of their villages as far as the Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers (Brugge 1964:231,233-235). This is the only information which Vizcarra offered that documents Hopi knowledge of the Grand Canyon region.

Trappers and Traders

The preponderance of contacts between Hopis and non-Indians which occurred during the Mexican period happened as a result of beaver trapping and trading activity. Enterprising young men swarmed into the Southwest during the 1820s and 1830s to take advantage of the high densities of beaver in the region's streams. Many of the men who came to the area for such purposes passed through the Hopi villages in their travels. The biographer of Joseph Walker, who was one such trapper, claimed that, "From the days of the first Taos trappers the mountain men had had occasional dealings with the Moqui" (Gilbert 1983:237).

The earliest recorded visit by a trapping party to Hopi occurred in the winter of 1824-1825, when Tom "Pegleg" Smith and his traveling companion, Maurice LeDuc, stayed with the Hopi for three days. Smith imparted no significant information about the Hopi in his records (Templeton 1965:47).

Members of the Ewing Young trapping party also contacted Hopi in their travels. Party member George C. Yount claimed in an interview with Reverend Orange Clark that some of the party's trappers encountered Hopis while exploring the region near the Little Colorado or the main Colorado River. According to Yount, when the Ewing party reached a fork of the Salt River, about eighty miles from its mouth:

... our company divided, a part ascending one fork, and a part the other. The left fork heads due north, and the right fork north east. It was my lot to ascend the latter. It heads in the mountains covered with snow [White Mountains], near the head of the left hand fork of the San Francisco. . . . The other division found that their fork headed in snow covered mountains [San Francisco Mountains], as they supposed near the waters of Red river [Colorado River]. They also met a tribe of Indians, who called themselves *Mokee*. They found them no ways disposed to hostility . . . (emphasis and bracketed words included in the original, Camp 1923:11).

Party member James O. Pattie recorded an almost identical story in his narrative of the trapping expedition (Batman 1988:61). The editor of Pattie's *Personal Narratives*, Richard Batman, suggests in a footnote that the Red River referred to the Little Colorado River not the main Colorado River (Batman 1988:65). But the concurring stories document that Hopis had been traveling in the vicinity of the Grand Canyon and possibly within a tributary canyon.

In addition, Reverend Orange Clark noted in his personal papers that according to "an old trapper," possibly Yount, there is a "vague tradition" that the Hopi's "... forefathers came from the Big Canon of the Red River [the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River]" (Camp 1923:22).

William Shirley Williams (otherwise known as Old Bill Williams) also visited the Hopi during the early decades of the 19th century. Williams made at least two trips to the Hopi Mesas, one in 1827 and again in 1832. Williams remained with the Hopi for "much time" during his first visit to the their villages and seems to have become quite well acquainted with Hopi life and religion (Kip 1869:409; Yount 1923:20-21). Yet, it was on his second, more brief, encounter with the Hopi, in 1832, when Williams gleaned information about the Hopi which clearly demonstrates the role of Grand Canyon in their lifeways.

The information was recorded almost eighty years later when a journalist for the *St. Louis Globe* interviewed Williams' traveling companion, Jesus Ruperto Valdez Archeleuta in 1911. In the interview, Archeleuta recalled the time when he and Williams traveled from Zuni Salt Lake into the Little Colorado River Valley. While following the river valley northward, the two men met up with a Hopi hunting party. Archeleuta remembered that on the sixteenth day of following the river he and Williams, "fell in with a band of Indians out hunting. Beel [Bill] could talk with them a little, and used the sign language to fairly good advantage, for he learned that they were the Moqui tribe and had a pueblo sixty miles northeast." Archeleuta continued his description of the encounter, "They had arrow heads made of a beautiful polished agate, and told Beel about an immense tract of land covered with this agate [today's Petrified Forest]." The two men followed the Hopi's lead and after visiting the region where they could find agate, they continued on to Oraibi. Archeleuta (1911:5) says while there,

The old [Hopi] chief told Beel that he must see the road the great rain god made, which was ten days' journey through pretty rough country, but from what Beel could understand he concluded it was the Grand Canyon, which he had learned of, and so it turned out to be. We bore off west, but had to go in and back out, so much that some days we could make no headway at all. Finally we came out on the rim, and Beel was the first American to see this awful chasm (Archeleuta 1911:5).

The Hopi chief's knowledge of the Grand Canyon's location and its distance from Oraibi demonstrates that the Hopi maintained ties to the canyon in the early 19th century. Moreover, his statement referring to the Grand Canyon as "the road the great rain god made" suggests the way Hopis viewed that chasm to their west was imbued with historical and religious significance.

Finally, Antonio Armijo, a Mexican citizen, who was traveling from Santa Fe to California in 1830, observed that a portion of his route toward the sea overlapped with the "'route the Moqui use in trading with the Mojaves'" (Dockstader 1985:171). There is no clear documentation about the location of this portion of the route, but Armijo's observation attests to Hopi's use of the Grand Canyon region for travel and trade.

AMERICAN PERIOD, 1848-1882

In 1846, the United States went to war with the Republic of Mexico over the territory located along border between the two nations. The result of the war was the United States annexed a much larger portion of land than what had originally seemed to be in contention. The territory included in the land transfer mandated by the peace treaty that ended the war included a large tract of land north and west of the Rio Grande. This resulted in Hopi entering its third phase of non-Indian rule, this time under the sovereignty of the United States. During the ensuing period, a number of citizens and officials of the United States documented observations about Hopi use of the Grand Canyon region.

Colonel John M. Washington's Campaign Against the Navajo

Within a year of the war's end, the first official United States expedition marched toward Hopi territory. Lieutenant Colonel John Macrae Washington commanded members of the Army of the West on an expedition to negotiate a treaty with the Navajos who had begun to settle to the east of the Hopi Mesas. The chronicler of the expedition, Lieutenant James H. Simpson from the U.S. Corps of Topographical Engineers, reports that one Hopi was present when the treaty between the Navajos and the United States was signed at Canyon de Chelly (McNitt 1964:98-101). Immediately after this event on September 9, 1839, the Americans returned to Santa Fe, without further contact with the Hopi.

In his report for the War Department, Simpson recommended the region be further explored. He noted "the expediency of having the country examined west of the Pueblo of Zuñi, for the ascertainment of a wagon route from Zuni to the Pueblo de los Angeles, or, failing in this, to San Diego" (McNitt 1964:160). Simpson suggested that a road running "as direct as possible. . . passing by the pueblos of Laguna and Zuñi, and possibly of the Moquis," would save as much as three hundred miles on the other routes to California which ran to the north and south of this latitude (McNitt 1964:162). Old trappers of the region had counseled Simpson on possible routes for such a road. One of these trappers, Richard Campbell, told Simpson that "a route leads from Zuñi by way of the pueblos of the Moquis," to the Crossing of the Fathers on the Colorado River, where Escalante had crossed the river seventy five years earlier (McNitt 1964:161). Continued use of this trail suggests that trade relations between the Hopi and Paiute continued in the 19th century.

Sitgreaves Expedition

The other route which Campbell mentioned and suggested as a possible road through the Southwest, ran along the Rio de Zuni to the Little Colorado River and then either west onto the Colorado Plateau or across the Grand Canyon to the north rim, and onward to California. Two years later, Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves of the United States Topographical Survey arrived at Zuni to explore this recommended course (Sitgreaves 1962:4).

Sitgreaves traveled south and west of the Hopi Mesas but never visited the villages. Nor did he encounter Hopis along his trail. He did, however, find evidence of Hopi's long-standing occupation of the region. While traveling through the valley of the Little Colorado, "on the bank of the river," Sitgreaves discovered "the ruins of several stone houses, which the guide, Mr. Leroux [a well-known trapper of the area], said resembled those of the Moqui Indians" (Sitgreaves 1962:8). In addition to these ruins, Sitgreaves mentioned a trail which was very likely one used by Hopis and other Native peoples of the region for trade and other purposes. He wrote, "The well marked trail we had hither-to followed brought us at length to the Little Colorado, which it crosses, continuing on south to the Salt River, a tributary of the Gila" (Sitgreaves 1962:4).

Army Surgeon P. S. G. Ten Broeck

When the assistant surgeon of the United States Army, P. S. G. Ten Broeck, arrived at Sichomovi village on First Mesa in 1852, he came for the express purpose of learning more about the customs and habits of the Hopi people (Schoolcraft 1854:72). He recorded a wide range of information about the Hopi, from their personal appearance to the construction of their homes, their marriage customs, ceremonial dances, and more. Although he reported no information which directly relates to the Grand Canyon, he provided some interesting anecdotes which illustrate Hopi ties to the canyon and its tributary stream, the Little Colorado River.

On Ten Broeck's first day at the Hopi Mesas he learned that near the Little Colorado River, in a southwesterly direction from First Mesa, was a sacred spring to which the Hopi would pilgrimage to pray for rain. Ten Broeck explained that, "When there is great drought in the valley, the Moquis go in procession to a large spring in the mountain for water, and they affirm that after doing so, they always have plenty of rain" (Schoolcraft 1854:82). Ten Broeck mentioned another ceremonial custom in his journal which possibly relates to the Little Colorado River. He reports that, "The chief men have pipes made of smooth polished stone, and of a peculiar shape, which have been handed down from generation to generation. They say their pipes were found centuries ago, by their forefathers, at the bottom of the water, in a very deep ravine in a mountain to the west, and that they were found already made in their present form" (Schoolcraft 1854:87). The imagery of this description depicts a deep gorge similar to that of the Little Colorado River as it carves its way to the depths of the Colorado River.

Ten Broeck also included information in his journal which implies that part of Hopi oral tradition is a belief about having their origins in the west. From a conversation with some Hopi elders, Ten Broeck noted this story:

Many, many years ago, their great Mother brought from her home in the west nine races of men, in the following forms: First, the deer race; Second, the sand race; Third, the water race; Fourth, the bear race; Fifth, the hare race; Sixth, the prairie-wolf race; Seventh, the rattlesnake race; Eighth, the tobacco-plant race; Ninth, the reed-grass race. Having placed them on the spot where their villages now stand, she

transformed them into men, who built the present Pueblos, and the distinction of races is still kept (Schoolcraft 1854:86).

Although Ten Broeck reported nothing about the Grand Canyon here, his notes indicate that these Hopis, with whom he spoke, understood their people's origin to be in the west.

Another of Ten Broeck's observations linked Hopi spirituality to the west. In this case, it was Hopi's role in the shell trade which assumed a mystical quality, with Ten Broeck claiming that, "They wear necklaces of a very small sea-shell, ground flat (doubtless procured from California), which, they say, was brought to them by other Indians who lived over the mountains to the west [probably the Mojaves], and say they obtain them from three old men who never die" (Schoolcraft 1854:87). The imagery of the three immortal deliverers who provide sea shells suggests that these trade items held a meaningful place in Hopi culture.

Railroad Surveys: Aubry, Whipple, and Beale

The next American explorers in the region came on route-finding expeditions. Both Lieutenant A. W. Whipple and François X. Aubry traveled through Hopi territory in the years 1853-1854, surveying for a possible railroad route along the 35th parallel (which by and large traverses the Colorado Plateau and intersects the Little Colorado River at about its halfway point).

François X. Aubry

Aubry was a trapper and trader who was very familiar with this region. He was so confident that he could locate the best route for such a project that he financed his own survey. Indeed, it was his route which was later developed by the Santa Fe Railroad. Yet, his explorations provide little information about the region except for those things which were of immediate economic or practical concern to the construction of a railroad. On the issue of native trails, he said nothing (Bieber 1975; Chaput 1974).

Lieutenant A. W. Whipple

Aubry's counterpart, Lieutenant Whipple, depended more on the knowledge of Native peoples to complete his survey of the Southwest. He thus compiled much more useful information about the inhabitants of the region in his records. In regards to the Hopi, Whipple wrote that they "are . . . supposed to have knowledge of the region [west of the Little Colorado] and we intend to seek among them for a guide" (Foreman 1941:149). As Whipple approached Hopi territory, he sent two of his Zuni guides to recruit Hopis for such purposes. None appeared. The Zuni guides returned from the Hopi villages with a few gifts and this explanation that, "The smallpox had swept off nearly every male adult from three pueblos" (Foreman 1941:149). Aside from this tragic report, Whipple's journal contains little useful information about the Hopi.

Edward Fitzgerald Beale

One final railroad survey of the 35th parallel was completed in the years 1857-1858, under the command of Edward Fitzgerald Beale. Beale never visited the Hopi nor encountered them in his travels. He did find evidence of a trail, however, which might have linked the Hopi to peoples and places to the south. While traveling the headwaters of the Little Colorado River, Beale observed an Indian trail which extended north from his course, which probably led to the Hopi Mesas (Lesley 1970:43).

Ives Expedition

In 1857, United States Army officer Lieutenant Joseph Christmas Ives set out on an expedition into the Colorado River region. Originally Ives planned to explore the region from the river, ascending it by steamboat. But shallow rocks and difficult rapids forced him to reconsider his plan. Disappointed, Ives had to report that, "the lower end of the Black Canyon marked the practical limit of steamboat navigation" (Lavender 1982:70). Consequently, he sent his vessel back to Fort Yuma and continued his exploration of the region by land. During the overland portion of the expedition, Ives traveled to the Hopi Mesas.

Ives reports in his journal that a well-worn trail guided him to the Hopi Mesas. Ives wrote:

At noon to-day we came to the object of our search--a well-beaten Indian trail running towards the north. Camp was pitched at the place where it strikes the river, and it is the intention to make the second attempt to-morrow to penetrate the unexplored region. Near by are several salt springs, and scattered over the adjacent surface are crystals of excellent salt. This accounts for the trail, for it is doubtless here that the Moquis obtain their supply of that article (Ives 1861:117).

Ives had probably stumbled onto a salt spring near Winslow, Arizona. From the distance which Ives (1861:117-119) reported traveling on his journey to Second Mesa—between fifty and sixty miles—it seems likely that he would have been coming from the area of Winslow. Also, Ives (1861:117) claimed that the trail ran due north from the salt spring, which is the correct direction for reaching the Hopi Mesas from this point on the Little Colorado. Ives described this trail as being, "sufficiently used to form an easy, well-beaten path" (Ives 1861:117). His statement indicates that the Hopi regularly traveled this route.

On the third day of following the trail, Ives and his party met up with a small band of Hopis who guided them to the village of Mishongnovi (Ives 1861:120,122). While in Mishongnovi, Ives had the occasion to bring out a map and inquire if his Hopi aide knew a way to the Colorado River. Ives wrote in his journal, "I told him that we wished to go further to the north, and he signified that four days' travel in that direction would bring us to a large river" (Ives 1861:121). The next day, the Mishongnovi man led the Ives' party to Oraibi, which, the guide claimed, was "on the trail towards the great river" (Ives 1861:122). From Oraibi, he informed the Americans that he would guide them to the only water hole on the four to five day march northwestward and then, beyond that, allow them to follow the trail alone, "which could be followed as well without guidance as with it" (Ives 1861:124). According to some of the Hopi, this trail was "the only practicable route by which upper portions of the river can be attained." It was a 90-100 mile long trail (Ives 1861:125), probably the same one which Paiutes had used to guide Escalante to the Hopi Mesas.

The trail proved to be well-defined and easy to follow, but still it would not lead the explorers all the way to their objective, the Colorado River. An Oraibi Chief had warned Ives that water was scarce in the region and that a lack of water, as well as other factors, would prevent him from reaching the river. Ives wrote in his journal that the chief "had objected to any of the tribe accompanying the expedition north, on the ground that there was no water, that the country was bad, that we would have to travel several days before we would come to a river, and that if we did reach it the mules could not get to the bank" (Ives 1861:124). Obviously, this Oraibi chief was fully aware of what lay ahead on the trail to the river, because his prediction was absolutely correct. The Ives party returned to Third Mesa without having reached the Colorado River.

Although Ives undertook no other explorations of the Colorado River from the Hopi villages before his departure for Fort Defiance, he did note some other information which documents Hopi's connections to the river. For one, he reports in his journal that from the height of a rooftop he could see a trail which went from the Hopi Mesas to the Little Colorado River Canyon—which he called "the canon of Flax river." From there, Ives inferred that the trail continued, "... doubtless to the Yampais [Havasupai] village" (Ives 1861:122; Colton 1964:91). This is a very significant documentation of Hopi trade with Havasupais living within the Grand Canyon. Another comment worth noting is Ives's observation that Hopis wore shell necklaces, which, as discussed elsewhere in this report, link the Hopi to the west and other portions of the Colorado River.

Although by 1857 a variety of Americans had traveled through Hopi territory contact between Hopi and citizens and officials of the United States was still infrequent. This is evident in the fact that Ives found that none of the maps available to him accurately located the Hopi Mesas (Ives 1861:119). Moreover, in the second half of the 19th century Ives was still describing Hopi land as an "unvisited region" (Ives 1861:120).

Jacob Hamblin, Mormon Missionary

In November 1858, six months after Ives came to the Hopi villages, the Mormon missionary Jacob Hamblin visited Hopi for the first time. He came to lure the Hopi away from the Hopi Mesas, to the fertile region of the Virgin River Valley in southern Utah (Bailey 1961:206). Over the next two decades, Hamblin would continue to visit the Hopi to encourage them to relocate, but also with the goal of establishing a mission at the Hopi Mesas. Throughout his extensive contact with the Hopi, Hamblin recorded some interesting information regarding Hopi ties to the Grand Canyon.

On Hamblin's first trip to the Hopi Mesas, a Paiute guide led him along a trail known as the "Ute trail." The trail led to a ford, which was one of only two known crossings of the Colorado River within a few hundred miles. The Paiute guided Hamblin and his party across the river and on to the Hopi Mesas. As they approached Hopi territory, the Paiute showed clear familiarity with Hopi culture (Bailey 1961:199-200). The Hopi, in turn, demonstrated that they were quite accustomed to contact with peoples from the north, with the Chief of Oraibi, Chief Tuba, speaking in the Ute language with Hamblin's guide (Bailey 1961:201).

Furthermore, Hamblin learned that the Hopi had ceremonial restrictions to crossing the Colorado River until prophets from the West appeared. At first some Hopis, including Chief Tuba, thought the Mormons might be the prophets alluded to in the prophecy, but eventually the Oraibians reached a consensus that the Mormons were not the prophets. Hamblin reports that:

The Hopis had no desire to cross the Colorado and go live with the Mormons. Their fathers had given them a tradition that they must not cross the river until the three prophets who in ancient times had taken them into their country, should appear and lead them forth again. It had been decided after much fury of council that the Mormons were not the prophets (Bailey 1961:208).

This statement and subsequent references to Hopi's prohibition against crossing the Colorado River (Bailey 1961:220,253,254,275), demonstrate the significance of the Colorado in the Hopi's belief system.

By 1862, Hamblin was able to encourage some Hopis to accompany him to the Mormon settlements, just to see what kind of society Mormons had created there. The events of Hopis'

journeys across the Colorado River reveal how much respect they held for the river. First, in 1862, three unnamed Hopis from Oraibi accompanied Hamblin to Utah for a year long stay. When the travelers got to the Colorado River, Hamblin stated that, "the traditions of the Moquis against crossing this river, visibly affected our Moqui friends" (Bailey 1961:254). A year later, Chief Tuba accompanied Hamblin across the river. A ritual performed by Tuba before this crossing reveals the deep respect he had for the Colorado River. As described by Hamblin, Tuba explained that,

... "my people once lived on your side of the river. Their fathers told them that never again would they go west of this river to live."

"But, you're going only to visit," Jacob said, kindly. "Not to live."

Tuba looked uncertainly at the high and bright-hued cliffs, at the icy margins of the roaring yellow river, at his fat and kindly little wife. "Yes, I'm going on a visit to my friends," he said. "I've worshipped the Father of us all in the way you believe to be right. Now I wish you'd do as the Hopi think right before we cross." . . .

From his loose blouse Tuba drew the medicine bag. Opening it, he offered of its contents to Jacob ... While the brethren watched, Jacob took a pinch of the sacred meal with the correct hand. With his face to the east, Tuba then knelt in native prayer," and asked the Great Father of All to preserve us in crossing the river He said that he and his wife had left many friends at home, and if they never lived to return, their friends would weep much. He prayed for pity upon his friends, the 'Mormons,' that none of them might drown in crossing; and that all the animals we had might be spared . . . and to preserve unto us all our food and clothing, that we need not suffer hunger nor cold on our journey. He then arose to his feet. We scattered the ingredients from the medicine bag into the air, on to the land and into the water of the river (Bailey 1961:328).

Although Hamblin tended to cross the Colorado River at the "Ute Trail" ford, on one occasion he traveled to the Hopi Mesas straight through the Walapai and Havasupai villages within the Grand Canyon (Bailey 1961:261). Hamblin embarked on this journey through the Grand Canyon accompanied by the three Oraibians who had come with him to southern Utah in 1862. These Hopis probably guided Hamblin on his expedition across the canyon to the Colorado Plateau and on to the Hopi Mesas. They would have been well familiar with this route from trading activity between Hopi villages and the Havasupai (Colton 1941:308). Indeed, a trail seems to have been named in the Hopi honor which ran from the Havasupai villages to Hopi villages, called the "Moki Trail" (Pooler 1910).

Mormons associated with Jacob Hamblin documented the occurrence of Hopi salt expeditions in the mid-19th century. Marion J. Shelton observed in 1869 that, "The inhabitants [of the Hopi villages] travel very little, save it be those who go for salt, which they are constrained to carry on their backs from ninety to one hundred and fifty miles" (Peterson 1971:187). Shelton reported that Hopi salt expeditions traveled to the Colorado River, the Little Colorado River and to a source of salt beyond the New Mexico border.

Surveys of the West: Powell, Wheeler, and Gilbert of the United States Geological Survey

John Wesley Powell

John Wesley Powell led the first large-scale scientific survey of the Colorado River region. In 1867, when Powell arrived to the Colorado River to make preliminary investigations for his descent of the river, he planned only to run the river once. After his first descent of the river, however, Powell returned to the Colorado to lead another descent of the river and to supervise a much more extensive survey which ended up lasting for almost a decade. The termination of his survey coincided with the founding of the United States Geological Survey, which Congress put under Powell's directorship (Bartlett 1962:373-374).

During Powell's initial descent of the river, he reported several sightings of Hopi ruins along the Colorado and one of its main tributaries, the Little Colorado River. On July 29, 1869 Powell observed a ruin of which he wrote. "From what we know of the people in the Province of Tusayan, who are, doubtless, of the same race as the former inhabitants of these ruins, we conclude that this was a *kiva*, or underground chamber in which their religious ceremonies were performed" (Powell 1961:228). In Glen Canyon, Powell described a prehistoric two story masonry structure that subsequently became known as "Fort Moqui" (Crampton 1988:98-99).

In total, during Powell's two expeditions, he located and described 8 archaeological sites (Euler 1969:8-20). Powell described one archaeological site at the confluence of the Green and San Rafael Rivers, two archaeological sites at the head of Glen Canyon (both now submerged under Lake Powell), ancient steps cut into rock in Glen Canyon, a site in the Little Colorado River (where Beamer subsequently built his cabin), a probable Southern Paiute hut 11 miles below the Little Colorado River, a masonry structure at Unkar Creek, a site at Red Canyon near Hance Rapid, a "Shinumu (Moqui) ruin at Bright Angel Creek, a site at Crystal Creek, "Shinumu" ruins at Shinumo Canyon, and ancient house ruins at Tepeats Creek (pp. 9-18). Powell also described a Paiute garden at Whitmore Wash (from which he and his expedition took produce). Powell illustrated the ruins in Glen Canyon in a book he published in 1895 (Figure 21).

In October 1870, the Powell party visited Hopi for about eight days (Powell 1872:4; Powell 1961:347; Powell 1972; Fowler and Fowler 1969:2). Powell subsequently described the trail between Hopi and the canyon, explaining that on his trip from the river to the village of Oraibi he was easily able to follow the course. Powell wrote in an update to Congress that after crossing the Colorado River in a ferry constructed by members of his party, his group set off toward the Hopi Mesas, passing by Moenkopi on the way (Figure 22). He explained, "Our route lay along the base of a line of cliffs, and we were rejoiced to find a good trail in the direction in which we wished to travel. We had anticipated much trouble in finding water, but from time to time the trail led to springs or water-pockets, and these at such short intervals that no serious want was experienced" (Powell 1872:4). Powell's comments about the trail, claiming that it was a good trail and that watering spots had been clearly established along the way, demonstrate that travel between the Hopi villages and the Grand Canyon was a somewhat regular event.

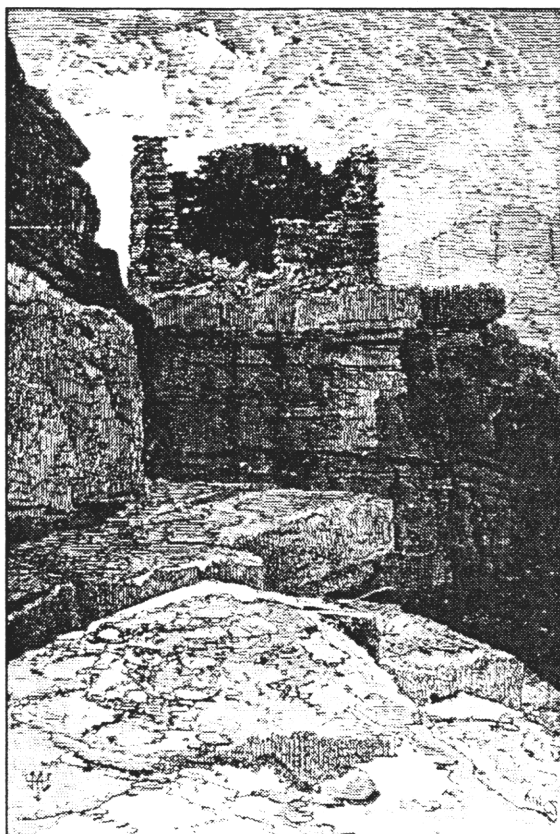


Figure 21. "Ruins on the Brink of Glen Canyon" as illustrated in John Wesley Powell's 1895 Publication *Canyons of the Colorado*.

Powell collected little information during his stay that relates to Hopi use of the Grand Canyon (Powell 1961:335-347). His only mention of the Grand Canyon in his notes refers to a conversation in which he spent "the evening in rehearsing to a group of the leading men the story of my travels in the canyon country." He wrote that, "Of my journey down the canyon in boats they have already heard, and they listen with great interest to what I say" (Powell 1961:338). News of Powell's river descent had reached Hopi before he did, and the Hopi were intrigued enough to hear more about this amazing adventure.

One member of Powell's second expedition, Francis Marion Bishop, produced a series of letter reports for the *Daily Pantagraph*, a newspaper in Bloomington, Illinois. In these letters, Bishop (1947:250) described the physical evidence of Hopi's historical ties to the Grand Canyon, stating,

Nature has not been the sole worker in the cañons of the Colorado, nor on the cliffs and in the valleys of this wilderness of rocks. Everywhere, on mountains, in valleys, and in caves, are scattered the relics of a once numerous people. What are these relics of evidences of former occupation? you ask. I answer, the ruins of villages long since deserted. Keva's [sic], or temples of worship, buried by the accumulated dust of centuries; houses of stone and dwellings in caves; histories written in hieroglyphics upon cliffs and cañon walls; fragments of pottery of every description, colored and plain; pathways up seemingly inaccessible cliffs by footholds cut in the

rock, and ladders of poles; but the hands that wrought and the feet that once trod these mountain paths are gone--all these are relics of former occupation, for they are not found here and there merely, but are everywhere.

Bishop (1947:250-51) also reports that "There is a tradition among the Shenomos, or Moquis Indians, to the effect that their tribe once lived over this entire country, and that disease and war have finally reduced them to the little handful now living in the 'Seven Cities' of northern Arizona."

Another member of the second expedition, Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, wrote a diary that is now archived at the New York Public Library (Dellenbaugh 1871-1873). Dellenbaugh used this diary in writing a book that described his journey down the Colorado River. In several places of his published work, Dellenbaugh remarked on the archaeological sites that were encountered and how these were attributed to the ancestors of the "Moki" (Hopi). At Camp 35 in the Upper Colorado River basin, Dellenbaugh (1988:79) stated that,

There had been people here before any white men, for Steward found an artificial wall across an indentation of the cliff, the first work of the ancient builders we encountered. It was mysterious at the time, the South-western ruins not then having been discovered with one or two exceptions. We ascribed this wall, however, to the ancestors of the Moki.

Another member of Powell's expedition provided a similar description of the archaeological sites encountered during exploration of the Colorado River. W. C. Powell, the brother of John Wesley Powell, wrote (Powell 1948:479),

From the beginning of our voyage, evidences of earlier discoveries were abundant. If we climbed some towering cliff to make an observation, stone steps would often aid us. If we made a detour through the desert, and, overcome by dust and heat, sought with success some hidden spring, there would be seen the "pitcher broken at the fountain." If a mountain was scaled, remote, formidable, and the explorer indulged in any of those inspiring and sublime ideas that are suggested by standing where man never trod before, those high-born fancies would be shaken by a stumble over crumbling ruins. If we penetrated the shadowy labyrinths of some dangerous and intricate water-way, ever and anon our wandering eyes would trace a strange handwriting on the walls. When, moving slowly, in single file, the men entered a cave in the cañons, we noted ceilings blackened by fires that burned ages since. As we journeyed down the Colorado further details of this "tragedy in stone" appeared. Perched upon the walls that frown above the river, are ruins of Kivas—temple of worship—and, at intervals, implements of stone, flint, and agate arrowheads. Some of the Indians whom we meet speak of a strange tribe that held these natural fortresses "many, many snows ago." These fragmentary suggestions excite our curiosity to know more of the persecuted people. Let us turn to the journal, and make their acquaintance.

Near the junction of the Green River and the Grand River, the Powell expedition found a prehistoric corrugated jar containing a coil of split willow used in basketry (Dellenbaugh 1988:113). Upstream of Cataract Canyon, Dellenbaugh documents "Fragments of arrow-heads, chips of chalcedony, and quantities of potsherds scattered around proved our ancient Shinumos had known the region well" (Dellenbaugh 1988:117). Below Cataract Canyon, Dellenbaugh describes finding walled caves containing corncobs, pottery, and other artifacts (Dellenbaugh 1988:132). Today

archaeologists would probably call these granaries. In Glen Canyon, Dellenbaugh describes a trail "where the old Shinumos for fifty feet had cut steps into the smooth rock" (Dellenbaugh 1988:145). The finding of kivas in the prehistoric sites encountered by the Powell expedition was one of the primary rationales for their associating these sites with the Hopi Indians (*Scientific American Supplement* 1878:2139-2141).

George M. Wheeler

While Powell was beginning his second descent of the Colorado River, First Lieutenant George M. Wheeler of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army, began his extensive survey of the territories west of the one hundredth Meridian. The survey was also abolished around 1878 when the United States Geological Survey was formed to coordinate scientific explorations of the West. In its eight years of existence, the Wheeler survey encountered and recorded information about the Hopi.

During the 1873 season, members of the survey visited the Hopi Mesas (Wheeler 1875:68; Wheeler 1879:388, 405). While exploring other portions of the Hopi region, one of the members of the survey, Dr. Loew, came upon and analyzed the salt deposit near Winslow which Ives had probably visited earlier. (Loew 1875:628; Ives 1861:117). Members of the Wheeler survey collected no further information documenting Hopi use of the Colorado River or its tributaries.

Karl Gilbert

One geologist who had worked with Wheeler in the early years of the survey returned to the Colorado River country in 1878 under the auspices of the newly-created United States Geological Survey to lead a topographical study of the plateaus north and south of the Grand Canyon. Grove Karl Gilbert spent the year doing research in an area ranging from Salt Lake City south to the San Francisco Mountains. Unfortunately, Gilbert's research did not result in a published report (Davis 1926:113). A resourceful Garrick Mallery, writing for the American Bureau of Ethnology, obtained information from Gilbert regarding Hopi salt pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon. Mallery reports that,

Mr. G. K. Gilbert discovered etchings at Oakley Spring, eastern Arizona [*Tutuveni*], in 1878, relative to which he remarks that an Oraibi chief explained them to him and said that the "Mokis make excursions to a locality in the cañon of the Colorado Chiquito to get salt. On their return they stop at Oakley Spring and each Indian makes a picture on the rock. Each Indian draws his crest or totem, the symbols of his gens . . . He draws it once, and once only, at each visit." Mr. Gilbert adds, further, that "there are probably some exceptions to this, but the etchings show its general truth. There are a great many repetitions of the same sign, and from two to ten will often appear in a row. In several instances I saw the end drawings of a row quite fresh while the others were not so. Much of the work seems to have been performed by pounding with a hard point, but a few pictures were scratched on. Many drawings are weather-worn beyond recognition, and others are so fresh that the dust left by the tool has not been washed away by rain. Oakley Spring is at the base of the Vermillion Cliff, and the etchings are on fallen blocks of sandstone, a homogenous, massive, soft sandstone. Tubi, the Oraibi chief above referred to, says his totem is the rain cloud but it will be made no more as he is the last survivor of his gens (Mallery 1882:28).

Gilbert's comment that the etchings were sometimes so fresh that the dust of carved sandstone still remained near a clan symbol, indicates that the Hopi continued to use the Grand Canyon for spiritual purposes in the late 1870s.

Other Visitors in the 1870s: Edwin A. Barber and John G. Bourke

While the great surveys of the West were taking place under the patronage of the United States government, smaller groups of civilians and academics also came to the West to roam and explore. Some of these visits produced information about Hopi ties to the Grand Canyon.

Edwin A. Barber

While visiting the Hopi Mesas sometime probably in the early 1870s, the scholar Edward Barber recorded a story which Hopis told him about the ruins of the San Juan River Valley. Barber (1877:592-593) reports,

The entire country covered by ancient habitations was occupied long ago by a peaceful, agricultural, and pastoral race, from the time the earth was but a small island. Here they flourished and multiplied for many generations, tilling the soil and raising flocks and herds along the fertile river valleys. After a time another tribe, uncultivated and barbarous, came down from the north to visit them. The people received them kindly and treated them in a hospitable manner, and their visits grew more frequent. Finally they became annoying and showed a warlike spirit. The owners of the land then fled to the cliffs, and subsisted as best they could, until the barbarians from the north came down with their families and settled permanently with their families, driving their victims from the country. Then the persecuted people gathered together once more at the *Cristone* (a needle-shaped spire of rock on the San Juan River). Here they built houses in the caves and cliffs; erected fortresses, watch-towers, and store-houses; and dug reservoirs to supply themselves with water. After a prolonged battle their enemies were repulsed; but the conquerors retired to the deserts of Arizona and settled on the high bluffs of that region, where their posterity, the Moquis, live to this day.

Barber also discussed the Colorado River as the location of numerous ruins which he believed were left by the same ancient town builders, but he provides no information from the Hopi on this matter (Barber 1877:591).

John G. Bourke

In 1874, General George Crook and Captain John G. Bourke visited the Hopi Mesas to investigate news that the Hopi had been selling arms and ammunition to the Apaches. The Hopi had supposedly been obtaining the trade items from their neighbors across the Colorado River, the Utes and the Mormons. The American officers learned that the report was, in fact, true. Crook sternly warned the Hopi not to continue this form of enterprise. He then departed Hopi and appears to have never returned (Bourke 1892:230).

In 1880-1881, however, John Bourke came back to the Hopi Mesas on a personal trip to learn more about the inhabitants' manners and customs. While there, he recorded a Hopi tradition history describing the origin of the Hopi Snake Clan and the Snake Dance. In Bourke's (1884:177) words,

As to the sea-shells seen before the altars, he [Hopi informant with clan affiliations with *Hushpoa* or chapparal cock clan and *Quingoi* or oak clan] remarked as follows:-
 -"Many years ago the Moquis used to live upon the other side of a high mountain, beyond the San Juan River" (in the extreme S. W. corner of Colorado. This is the same mountain which the Navajoes call Notizan). "The chief of those who lived there thought he would take a trip down the big river to see where it went to. He made himself a boat of a hollow cottonwood log, took some provisions, and started down. The stream carried him to the seashore, where he found shells. When he arrived on the beach he saw on top of a cliff a number of houses, in which lived many men and women. They had white under their eyes, and below that a white mark. . . . That night he took unto himself one of the women as his wife. Shortly after his return to his home the woman gave birth to snakes, and this was the origin of the snake family (gens or clan) which manages this dance [the Snake Dance]. When she gave birth to these snakes they bit a number of the children of the Moquis. The Moquis then moved in a body to their present villages, and they have this dance to conciliate the snakes, so they won't bite their children (Parentheses and brackets from the original text).

This account is the earliest written documentation of the Hopi's story of Tiyo. The content of Bourke's rendition of this Hopi oral history demonstrates that part of Hopi culture derives from a connection to the Colorado River.

John H. Sullivan and the Moquis Indian Agency

In 1881, Indian agent John H. Sullivan arrived at the Moquis Indian Agency, located in Keams Canyon (Bourke 1884:79). Sullivan (1881:61) took his position as the agent in charge of Hopi affairs. Sullivan suggested that the agency be moved closer to the Hopi Mesas to increase its effectiveness (Sullivan 1881:62). The arrival of an ambitious Indian agent at the Moquis Agency ushered in a period of significant change for the Hopi. Beginning in 1882, with the establishment of the Hopi Reservation, government interference in Hopis' lives would increase substantially, altering their relationship to non-Indian society from that time forward. Sullivan was not the first Indian agent ever to visit the Hopi. Special Agent of the Indian Office, Vincent Coyler, had visited the Hopi in 1868. But he came to work only briefly with the Hopi and he effectuated no changes in the Hopi's lives, in spite of their requests for assistance (Bartlett 1936:36). Subsequent to Coyler, A. D. Palmer was appointed Special Agent for the Hopi but he also had little impact on the daily lives of the Hopi (Bartlett 1936:36-37).

Only Sullivan reports important information about Hopi ties to their surrounding environment. He stated in his annual report that to obtain items for constructing a shelter, people traveled from the Moqui Agency to "Sunset, 70 miles distant by Indian trail" (Sullivan 1881:62). He was referring here to the place called Sunset Crossing where Ives and Loew reported seeing a naturally-formed salt deposit, and where Ives described the trail leading north to the Hopi Mesas. Sullivan's statement that an Indian trail led from the agency to Sunset Crossing on the Little Colorado River further documents that the Hopi were linked through a well-established network of trails to an extensive region encompassed by the Grand Canyon and its tributary streams.

SUMMARY

Before the establishment of the Hopi Reservation in 1882, non-Indians traveling through northeastern Arizona managed to record scattered but significant information about Hopi ties to the Grand Canyon. Journals, interviews, and published works dating back to 1540 provide pieces of information which, when taken together, offer an important impression of Hopi's use and perception of the Grand Canyon up to the penultimate decade of the 19th century. These historic accounts demonstrate that the Hopi traveled within the vicinity of the Grand Canyon; that a network of trails connected the Hopi to points of access in the Grand Canyon and the settlements of neighboring tribes living on both sides of the Colorado River; that the Hopi used the Grand Canyon to gather resources; and that the Grand Canyon played a significant role in Hopi history and religion.

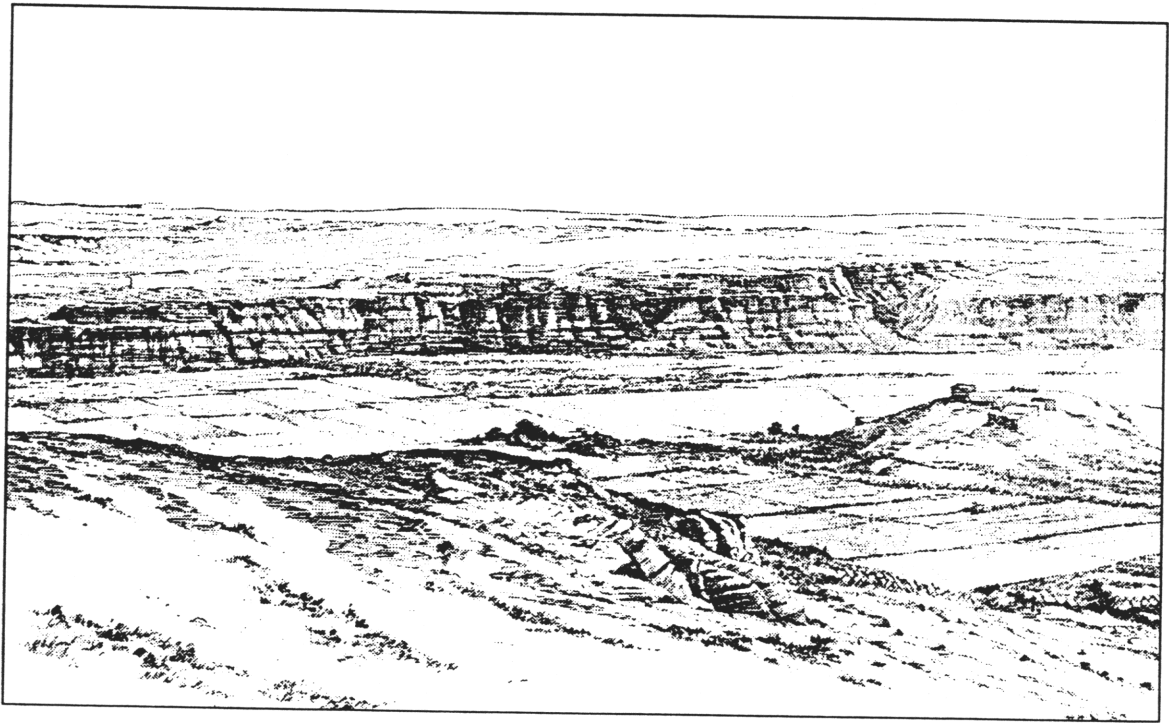


Figure 22. Moenkopi as illustrated in John Wesley Powell's 1895 book *Canyons of the Colorado*.

CHAPTER 7

ETHNOHISTORIC INFORMATION ABOUT HOPI USE OF THE GRAND CANYON AFTER 1882

INTRODUCTION

After 1882, information about Hopi use of the Grand Canyon is available from a variety of sources, including ethnographic publications, historical maps, and Hopi traditional history. This chapter reviews information from these sources to document Hopi land use related to the Grand Canyon. Much of the chapter focuses on the trails used during Hopi pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon. These trails physically link the Hopi villages with *Öngtupqa*.

COLLECTION OF SALT FROM THE GRAND CANYON

One of the principal Hopi uses of the Grand Canyon has traditionally been the collection of salt from the Hopi Salt Mine on the Colorado River. The Hopi have obtained salt from this source since time immemorial (Hough 1906:419; Adams 1986:25). Early anthropologists working at Hopi documented the location of the Hopi Salt Mine. In 1891, for instance, Stephen (1891:1) described how this salt was gathered from "... a saline deposit in the Grand Cañon, a short distance West from where the Colorado Chiquito debouches into its greater namesake."

The Hopi also obtained salt from the Zuni Salt Lake and the Verde Valley (Beaglehole 1937; Morris 1928). According to Hopi traditional history, during the period of clan migrations, the clans living in the Verde Valley traded salt to the people living on the Hopi Mesas.¹⁹⁰ After these clans moved to the Hopi Mesas, the Hopi continued to collect salt there. Hopi use of Zuni Salt Lake is well-documented (Stephen 1936:994; Beaglehole 1937; Simmons 1942:252-255; Richardson 1991:9; Titiev 1972:39). Hill (1940:22) noted that there are differences in ritual performances between Hopi salt expeditions to the Grand Canyon and Zuni Salt Lake. Some of these differences, however, are due to the fact that Hill compared a Tribal Initiation pilgrimage to the Grand Canyon with an expedition to Zuni Salt Lake to obtain salt for domestic use. While both types of expeditions can be considered pilgrimages since they both entail ritual offerings, the pilgrimages undertaken to complete the Tribal Initiation are associated with many additional esoteric features.

All Hopi Villages Made Pilgrimages to Salt Mine

A Hopi narrative from First Mesa documented by Stephen prior to 1894 documents that Hopis from First Mesa used to collect salt in the Grand Canyon. This narrative begins (Fewkes 1894), "Far down in the lowest depth of *Pí-sis-bai-yu* (the Colorado River), at the place where we used to gather salt, is the *sí-pa-pu*, the orifice where we emerged from the under-world." More recently, men from First Mesa have gone to collect salt from the Grand Canyon with their friends from Second and Third Mesa.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moencopi.

¹⁹¹ Interview with First Mesa leaders, 1991, p 1.

Men from the Second Mesa villages traveled either to the Zuni Salt Lake or the Grand Canyon to get salt (Harvey 1970:70-71). Mishongnovi village generally sends men to the Zuni Salt Lake after a Tribal Initiation. Hopi cultural advisors from Shungopavi, however, note that their village sometimes sent men on a Tribal Initiation pilgrimage to the Hopi Salt Mine in the Grand Canyon, and that men from First Mesa may have gone there as well.¹⁹² In fact, men from Shungopavi went to collect salt from the Hopi Salt Mine in the Grand Canyon as recently as 1959, following *Wuwtsim* initiations conducted in 1958.¹⁹³ Since Shungopavi closely guards its ritual activities, their *Wuwtsim* pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* have not been as publicized as those from Third Mesa.

In addition to pilgrimages associated with the Tribal Initiation, men from Mishongnovi and Shungopavi occasionally collected salt from the Hopi Salt Mine in *Öngtupqa* for domestic use.¹⁹⁴ Jack Kootsyaiva from Mishongnovi, went to the Grand Canyon three times before he passed away about 1955.¹⁹⁵ One cultural advisor noted that for the expeditions to obtain domestic salt from the Grand Canyon, you don't have to invite anyone or plan a salt trip in the same way that is necessary if you go to Zuni Salt Lake.¹⁹⁶ Nonetheless, even though the expeditions to obtain salt for domestic use entailed less ritual than those associated with *Wuwtsim*, ceremonial offerings were still made at important shrines. This cultural advisor noted that even though people from Second Mesa no longer go regularly to the Grand Canyon, "Someone still might make the pilgrimage one of these days."

And, in fact, in recent years men from Shungopavi have gone to *Öngtupqa* for ritual purposes other than the *Wuwtsim*. Cyrus and Augustine Mowa have journeyed to *Öngtupqa* to collect *pavisa* (yellow pigment) from the *Sipapuni* and salt from the Hopi Salt Mine.¹⁹⁷ The *pavisa* they collected has been used in ceremonies on Second Mesa. Between 1978 and 1986, Ben Nuvamsa from Shungopavi made five hikes down the Little Colorado River searching for and visiting the Salt Mine.¹⁹⁸ On one of these hikes he was accompanied by his nephew Gary Poleyestewa. Although his expeditions were not related to the *Wuwtsim*, Nuvamsa left *hooma* (ritual prayer meal offerings) at appropriate places in *Öngtupqa*.

¹⁹² Dalton Taylor interview, November 13, 1991, p. 2.

¹⁹³ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, September 18, 1995, p. 6.

¹⁹⁴ Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 5.

Valjean Joshevama interview, August 25, 1992, p. 2.

Paul Saukie interview, August 17, 1992, p. 2.

¹⁹⁵ Siweumtewa and Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991, pp. 1-2.

¹⁹⁶ Interview of Harold Koruh, June 20, 1991, pp. 10-11.

¹⁹⁷ Harlan Williams interview, December 23, 1993, p. 11.

¹⁹⁸ Notes and transcribed excerpts from an interview of Ben Nuvamsa on July 22, 1993, conducted by Leigh Jenkins and T. J. Ferguson at the Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 1. Ms. on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Ben Nuvamsa interview, July 22, 1993.]

Ben Nuvamsa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 29-30.

Pilgrimages from the Third Mesa villages of Oraibi and Moenkopi to the Hopi Salt Mine in the Grand Canyon have been well-documented by anthropologists (Titiev 1937; Simmons 1942:232-246), and are well-remembered by Hopi cultural advisors.¹⁹⁹ Going for Salt was traditionally the culmination of the Tribal Initiation ceremonies at Third Mesa. In addition, people from Second Mesa who went to the Grand Canyon to get salt often asked people from Third Mesa to accompany them. One cultural advisor from the Third Mesa village of Hotevilla recalled that his grandfather went on pilgrimages for salt in the Grand Canyon several times, using burros for transportation.²⁰⁰ Another cultural advisor from Hotevilla remembers that his grandfather made 9 trips to the Hopi Salt Mine.²⁰¹

Given the nature of oral traditions, it is difficult to precisely date pilgrimages from Third Mesa to *Öngtupqa* in the twentieth century. Don Talayesva from Oraibi went on a *Wuwtsim* pilgrimage to the Grand Canyon in 1911 or 1912 (Simmons 1942:232-246; Titiev 1937:244). The dates of all of the subsequent Third Mesa pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* have not been recorded but the approximate dates of several of them are known. Polingyumpewa, Sakhongva, and a third person from Bacavi mounted an expedition to *Öngtupqa* around 1946 to 1948.²⁰² These three Hopis were all initiated men but "They didn't find the place when they arrived there."²⁰³ One cultural advisor explained that "They were older and probably not too strong. They did reach this place but they didn't know where the trail was. They did get down into the canyon but ... to get to the salt they didn't know how to get there."²⁰⁴ Titiev (1972:359) documented a pilgrimage from Hotevilla to *Öngtupqa* in 1951 that also returned empty-handed. Hopi cultural advisors recollect that the last trek from Hotevilla to the Hopi Salt Mine occurred about 1955. At this time, Charlie Talawepi, Poleyumptewa, and George Sakhongva, all elderly men in their 70s, traveled to *Öngtupqa* with seven burros.²⁰⁵ Waters (1977:146) gave the date of this last pilgrimage as 1957. Balsom (1993:12) suggested the last pilgrimage occurred in the 1960s.

It may be that the pilgrimages attributed to 1946-1948, 1951, 1955-1957, and the 1960s actually refer to the same expedition. If so, this pilgrimage is best dated to 1955-1957. One cultural advisor recollected that when this last pilgrimage took place he was 18 years old and going to school

¹⁹⁹ Simon Polingyumptewa interview, July 20, 1991, pp. 1-8.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 15.

²⁰⁰ Wilton Kooyahoema in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 9.

²⁰¹ Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 13-19.

Wilton Kooyahoema in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 17.

²⁰² Gilbert Naseyouma in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 19.

Wilton Kooyahoema in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 17.

²⁰³ Herschel Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, pp. 1-2.

Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 13.

²⁰⁴ Everett in Herschel Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, p. 3.

²⁰⁵ Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 13-19.

in Winslow, Arizona.²⁰⁶ This advisor came home from school when the expedition had been gone about three weeks. People in Hotevilla were preparing to send out a search party but the expedition returned that day. The expedition had gotten lost and their burros had gotten away. These events had unexpectedly lengthened the expedition.

As this history documents, all the Hopi villages made pilgrimages to the Hopi Salt Mine in *Öngtupqa*. As one cultural advisor concluded, "We all use salt from there and its a very sacred place to collect that ... so its really important to all the Hopis."²⁰⁷

DESCRIPTIONS OF HOPI PILGRIMAGES TO THE GRAND CANYON

With respect to scholarly knowledge, virtually all that is known about Hopi pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon is derived from traditional history and ethnographic research. As Schwartz (1965:293) noted, the use of the Hopi pilgrimage trail to the Grand Canyon would not lead to the accumulation of a substantial archaeological record. There are relatively few accounts of Hopi pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* based on primary ethnographic data, most notably Don Talayesva's autobiography *Sun Chief* (Simmons 1942:232-246), and an earlier summary of Talayesva's journey published by Titiev (1937). Many publications describing Hopi pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon are based on these two sources. While these publications often offer insights into Hopi culture, they contain little new data (e.g., Aberle 1951:79-80; Bradfield 1973:40-41; Ellis 1961:170-171; Euler 1988:50; Loftin 1982:114-121; Schwartz n.d.:70-71, 1969:39; Thompson 1950:51).

Many of the anthropological publications about Hopi pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon have focused on the collection of salt. As a consequence, these pilgrimages have sometimes been referred to as "Salt Pilgrimages." The climb down the cliff to the Hopi Salt Mine may be rightfully considered as the physically most demanding and dangerous part of the journey. But from a Hopi perspective, the visit to the *Sipapuni* was spiritually the most dangerous aspect of the pilgrimage since this is the entry into the abode of the ancestors. The rituals conducted at the *Sipapuni* and the collection of pigments are as important in the pilgrimage as the collection of salt. It is thus not entirely accurate to characterize Hopi pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon simply as "Salt Pilgrimages." Eiseman (1959:31) recognized this when he wrote,

In further investigations it appeared that the Hopi do not regard the obtaining of salt as the really important feature of a salt-gathering expedition. The expedition is made into a very sacred place, full of dangers and fears. To come through the attendant trials, to visit the original sipapu, to make offerings at the many shrines, all these would bring the participant good luck and happiness. The salt itself appears to be a tangible piece of evidence that one had made the trip successfully and with a good heart. The village always welcomed the successful salt gatherers, feeling that the whole village would benefit from the offerings made to the gods, and from the good things accruing to those who made the trip, by a sort of diffusion process.

Ethnographic information about Hopi pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* is summarized in the following section.

²⁰⁶ Wilton Kooyahoema in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 17.

²⁰⁷ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 20.

1906 Description of Pilgrimage

In 1906, Fewkes provided a brief description of trips made by the Hopi people to get salt. He wrote (1906:352-353),

Light is thrown on the situation of Hopi shrines by a study of trips made by this people to the Grand Canyon to obtain salt. At that time they carried offerings to the Woman of the Hard Substance, sometimes called the Salt woman, who had a shrine in or near the canyon. So far as I can trace traditions, it would seem that the Spaniard Cardenas in 1540 followed the same trail that the Hopi still use when they visit the Havasupai Indians in Cataract canyon, or practically part of the old route used in these excursions after salt. This trail apparently crosses the Little Colorado not far from the Moenkopi trail at Tanner crossing, a few miles below Black falls.

It is said that before gathering the salt which hung from the cliffs in the form of "icles," the Hopi deposited prayer sticks, one before the image of the Salt goddess and the other before that of the God of War. It was their custom to allow themselves to be suspended over the edge of the cliff by ropes, in order that they might break off the salt "icles" and transfer them to their sacks.

As discussed in Chapter 6, Fewkes' notion that Cardenas followed the Hopi Salt Trail is controversial and is not an established historical fact. Also, as the following description of Don Talayesva documents, the Hopis climbed down ropes to reach the caves where the salt is found but they did not actually collect salt while hanging from ropes.

1911 Pilgrimage Described by Don Talayesva

The most well-documented salt pilgrimage to the Grand Canyon was one conducted in 1911 and described in *Sun Chief*, the extraordinary autobiography of Don Talayesva of Oraibi (Simmons 1942:232-246). Another description of this same pilgrimage was reported by Titiev in 1937, although he gives the date of the pilgrimage as 1912 (Titiev 1937:244). Talayesva was twenty-two years old at time he participated in his pilgrimage. Talayesva's narrative amply demonstrates the spiritual significance of the Grand Canyon region in Hopi religion.

The ritual preparations for Talayesva's salt expedition began at the winter solstice during the Soyal ceremony when his father, a member of the *Wuwtsim*, made pahos and placed them on the shrine of the *Pökanghoya*. In Talayesva's words (Simmons 1942:233), this "... qualified him for the trip to the Grand Canyon and the Home of our dear ones. The salt lies in dangerous territory, and long ago the War Twins had set up shrines and established rules to make the journey safe for the Hopi."

The following August, Talayesva's father announced the expedition from the housetops, exhorting "... that all who wished to go should patch up their moccasins, prepare salt sacks, and gather in their burros" (Simmons 1942:233). Three burros were loaded with supplies and Talayesva and his father mounted two other burros and set out. They stopped at the *Ma'saw* shrine where a corn-meal path was set heading west and prayer feathers were offered. As they headed towards Moenkopi, they looked back to see if others would join them but no one came.

Talayesva had originally planned only to accompany the expedition as far as Moenkopi, where he visited friends and attended a horse race with the Havasupai and Navajo. At Moenkopi, Talayesva

was invited to go to all the way to the Hopi Salt Mine by Talasvuyauoma, the *Kaletaka* (War Chief), who explained that no one seemed willing to join the expedition (Simmons 1942:234). Talayesva accepted this invitation. The War Chief, Talayesva's father, and some men from Shipaulovi taught Talayesva how to make the prayer feathers necessary to collect the special yellow clay (*pavisa*) from the Grand Canyon that was used in making pahos. Each of the three Hopis going on the expedition wrapped their prayer feathers in separate paper bags and ritually smoked, exchanging kinship terms. Talayesva was told that since he had made prayer feathers for the expedition, he had to practice sexual abstinence and not visit his girlfriend before leaving on the pilgrimage.

The next morning the expedition left Moenkopi (Simmons 1942:234). Outside the village, the War Chief sprinkled a corn meal path and each member of the party stepped on the "road-marker" as the journey began. Prayer feathers were deposited at two sacred springs along the trail. About nine or ten miles from Moenkopi, the Hopi pilgrims also made prayer offerings at *Pangkuku*, the shrine of the Mountain Sheep (Simmons 1942:235; Titiev 1937:245). Traveling another mile, the party arrived at *Tutuveni*.

In Talayesva's words, *Tutuveni* was (Simmons 1942:235),

... the shrine were Hopi salt gatherers carve their clan emblems on the rocks. Our ancestors had gathered salt for many generations, and there were hundreds of clan emblems cut into the rock base of the shrine. Every traveler, on each successive trip, had carved another symbol to the left of his original one. My father had carved eleven sand dunes in the course of his life, and Talasvuyauoma had carved ten coyote heads. I selected a smooth surface near by and carved my Sun symbol, also tracing my initials on the emblem; but I kept this secret, fearing that my companions would object to it as something modern. When I had finished, I placed the breath line of a prayer feather at the mouth of my Sun symbol, pounded it with a stone until it stuck, sprinkled corn meal upon the face of the emblem and prayed "My uncle, the Sun god, please notice that I have carved my clan emblem upon the stone. Direct our steps to the Salt Canyon, and watch over us until we return safely. Make our path smooth and renew our strength, so that our burden may be light." I prayed earnestly, realizing that we were entering the land of spirits and would have to cope with strange powers.

The party continued its journey, stopping at *Totolosp*i to make offerings at a sacred spring and to play a ritual game of Hopi checkers at the shrine of the Twin War gods at the crest of a hill (Titiev 1937:246). They stopped at the shrine of *Öngwu'ti* (Salt Woman), a slightly elevated sandstone formation about two feet wide and six feet long. Each of the three Hopis had ritual intercourse with Salt Woman under a wedding blanket, naming one of their aunts as a partner. Prayer feathers and sacred corn meal were offered in a hole in the center of the shrine that resembled a vulva about two inches wide and six inches deep. When Talayesva asked the meaning of this he was told (Simmons 1942:236),

When the Spider Woman, who owns the salt, was making a trail for the Hopi to Salt Canyon, she grew tired, stopped here, told her grandsons the War Twins to complete the trail to the canyon, and then turned herself into this stone so that she could guide the Hopi to salt. Whenever we have intercourse with her, we are doing it to increase our children and improve our health. This is not a "dirty trick," as the Christians have called it, neither is it the worship of a stone image, for we know the Salt Woman is a living goddess, and that intercourse with her means life.

In the next four or five miles of travel, Talayesva recognized the scenery, which he had seen on a "death journey" he experienced in 1907 while a student at the Sherman Institute in California (Titiev 1941). He described things that would appear on the trail, convincing the other people in the party of the veracity of his death journey.

At sunset the party camped. As the *Keele* [initiate on a first journey], Talayesva prepared supper (Simmons 1942:237). That evening, the two other men in the party recounted the story of Salt Woman and the *Pökanghoya* and gave a history of Hopi ancestors journeying for salt. An earlier salt expedition was described as ending in disaster after one of the participants failed to obey all the ritual strictures. On the return of this expedition, the burros broke loose and scattered the precious load of salt. It was a difficult task to recover the burros and pick up the salt.

The next day the expedition continued through flat country with large cactus plants (Simmons 1942:237). Talayesva continued to see the ruins and landscape he had experienced during his death journey. When the party arrived at Salt Canyon, Talayesva remarked that the "House of the Dead" was located here. He recalled (Simmons 1942:237-38):

... when we looked west along the rim of Salt Canyon, it seemed that I could see houses with windows through which people threw their ashes into the canyon. Blue smoke seemed to rise over the canyon, and my father said that it was from the Houses of the Dead along the rocky rim. I felt self-conscious and uncomfortable, wondering whether our ancestors were watching us and making comments.

Upon arrival at the Salt Canyon, Talayesva hobbled the burros while the War Chief made *qömi*, dough of sweet corn meal kneaded into the size of baseballs. The saddles and equipment were hidden in the rocks and covered with canvas. Each of the Hopi took food, their prayer feathers, and one of the sweet corn dough balls (Simmons 1942:238). They proceeded to the southwest edge of the mesa and came to a jagged rock which was a shrine of the War Gods. The War Chief explained to Talayesva that as the War Twins were making a trail to the salt, one of them became tired and changed himself into stone to mark the way. Prayers offerings were made at a shrine prior to descending into Salt Trail Canyon.

The expedition made a descent down to a lower shelf in Salt Trail Canyon, where they followed a zigzag course (Simmons 1942:238). A pinch of corn meal was offered whenever a rock was dislodged. They passed a place called *Kuripyakinpi* (Spreading Buttocks) where steps were cut into the rock (Titiev 1937:249). They came to a second shelf and momentarily lost their way. Talayesva chided the two men with him since they had made the trip many times before. He placed a small rock upon a stone to guide him on the way back but the War Chief warned him not to do that since only Kwan members and War Chiefs can safely set up trail markers (Simmons 1942:239). Four steps later Talayesva fell and injured his arm. His father admonished him that this was proof that he should obey all the rules.

They entered a gorge and came to a shelf where Talayesva was told to pay attention to the landscape since he would lead the group on the climb out (Simmons 1942:239; Titiev 1937:249). Only one of the three shelves at this point were passable. They continued and passed *Putstukwi* (Broad Cliff), the special home of the *Paaqapngyam* (Reed Clan). An offering of prayer meal was made here. They next passed *Patsipvey'taqa*, a rock with a petroglyph depicting an old-fashioned fur quilt pattern and prayer meal was again offered. They passed *Pangtupatsa*, the home of the Mountain Sheep, and *Kwantuupe* (Agave Roasting-place), the place where the Havasupai used to gather agave to make bread. They coated their faces with *suta* (red paint) and came to a gap the Hopi

call *Yakarukwanpi* (Nose-scraping Place). Talayesva described that the Hopi rule here is that each man stand astride this gap with his nose placed against a flat stone on a spot of red paint scraped off the noses of salt gatherers that had passed by before. The expedition came to *Kowaakomuy kiiam*, a slab of rock leaning against an upright stone, on which were petroglyphs of chickens carved by the War Twins. Prayer feathers were offered here and affixed to the rock using sweet dough (Simmons 1942:240).

The expedition descended to another shelf where they came to the cave of *Nukpana*, below a huge yellow rock, in which there is a shrine of *Ma'saw* (Simmons 1942:240; Titiev 1937:250). The War Chief climbed into the cave to make a prayer offering. Talayesva and his father continued around the corner while the War Chief conducted a ritual which included prophecy. The cave contained a grinding stone and if fresh food like green corn or melons were observed in the cave it was a bad omen while if old food was observed it was a good omen. The War Chief reported seeing four old corncobs and some very old corn meal on the grinding stone, which was a favorable sign.

The group next came to the house of the *Kooyemsi*, or Mud Heads, known as *Tatatsiqwtömuy kiiam* (Titiev 1937:251). The red color of this cave is reminiscent of the color of the *Kooyemsi*, and the many rounded stones resemble the knobs on their heads. Prayer feathers and corn meal were offered here in a cleft in the rock. They then made a final descent down a sandy slope to the Little Colorado River. Talayesva reports that the water in the river tasted salty. Prayer feathers were deposited here.

The expedition continued along the right bank of the Little Colorado River to *Sakwa-önga* (Place of the Blue Salt) and *Hawiönga* (Going Down Salt). Offerings were left here even though no salt was collected from these sources, which were said to be less "tasty" than the main Salt Mine (Titiev 1937:250-251).

Next the expedition came to the "little hillock" which was the *Sipapuni*, the original kiva and the hole through which all mankind emerged (Titiev 1937:251). The *Sipapuni* was surrounded by bushes of willow. As Talayesva describes (Simmons 1942:241),

Beyond the ring of bushes we came to a central mound of yellowish earth and stepped to the north side to remove our moccasins before entering the sacred place. The War Chief took four prayer sticks and four feathers, one with a breath line upon it, and stepped with us upon the hillock to a flat area about ten feet in diameter. At the very center was the original *sipapu*, the opening leading to the underworld. There was some yellowish water about two feet down which served as a lid to the sipapu so that no ordinary human could see the marvels of the underworld. This may be the fountain of youth which white men have sought in vain. Some ignorant, foolhardy Whites had plunged two poles into the sacred sipapu and left them standing against the west wall. Those profane fellows had desecrated the sacred spot where our ancestors—and theirs—emerged from the underworld. It was a great disgrace.

Two sets of prayer offerings were made at the Sipapu and silent prayers were said for the Cloud People to accept the offerings and send rain. Talayesva (Simmons 1942:241) explained the Sipapu was the "... main road that the "Six-Point-Cloud-People" travel when they emerge from the Sipapu to bring rain for the Hopi. They ascend into the air at this spot, look eastward, and go to the farms of the most worthy people."

Prayers were also offered and a yellow clay collected about fifteen feet to the southwest of the Sipapu (Simmons 1942:241-242). Here is a hole that is connected to the kiva "like a draft funnel of a sweet-corn oven." This hole was filled with sand which was removed. As the *Keele*, Talayesva was instructed to reach into the hole and exchange prayer feathers for the yellow clay. First the two elders on the expedition told Talayesva to take off his shirt; they said he really should be completely naked but since he had obeyed all the rules so well on the trip taking off his shirt would be sufficient. The two elders held onto Talayesva as he plunged his arm into the hole. Talayesva reports he "... could feel the presence of the spirits below, who accepted the feather and gave me clay." He exchanged feathers for clay until only poor clay was being obtained, a sign that enough clay had been collected on this trip.

The clay was placed on rocks to dry and the expedition hurried down the Little Colorado River to its junction with the Colorado River (Simmons 1942:242). There they prayed and prayer feathers were deposited on the water so the waves would take them away. The Hopi dipped their hands in the water and threw water toward the Hopi villages four times to encourage the Cloud People to send them rain.

Talayesva reported the Hopis on the expedition were tired and the leader of the expedition wondered if this was because he had allowed Talayesva to collect the yellow clay at the Sipapu while wearing pants (Simmons 1942:242). The Hopis ate a hasty lunch and drank from the sacred river. They then proceeded three or four miles to a "precipitous ledge" overlooking the salt deposits.

The image of *Pökanghoya* projected from the ledge at the place he had turned himself into stone to help the Hopi descend the steep cliff (Simmons 1942:242-243). Talayesva says that in former times the Hopi used ropes of rawhide that they looped over the *Pökanghoya*'s chest to lower themselves down the cliff. Talayesva's expedition threw down their blankets and their salt bags, and the leader of the expedition fastened a rope to the stone image. All of the Hopi also fastened prayer feathers to the *Pökanghoya* using sweet dough before making their descent down the rope. The two elders descended with some trepidation about the strenuous climb they would have to make back up with heavy loads of salt. Talayesva (Simmons 1942:243) notes that "A few steps away there was an old ladder made out of timbers by Whites, but we dared not use it and break the old Hopi rules."

The Hopi took their blankets and prayer feathers to a cave that was partially filled with sand. The War Chief explained this was *Kwantupavi*, where the *Kwan* society members live after they die (Titiev 1937:253). The cave previously had two huge horns of salt hanging from the ceiling but around 1910 the river had washed these horns away and filled the cave with sand. This was taken as sign foretelling the end of the *Kwan* society at Oraibi.

After depositing prayer feathers at *Kwantupavi*, the Hopi proceeded to a small fountain with a rock about three feet tall with a cupped top (Simmons 1942:243-244). Above this was an inverted cone of salt which dripped "salty medicine" into the cup. Talayesva noticed three pieces of "rock" in the cupped top which resembled mountain lions. He was told that whoever wishes to can mold a piece of dough into the shape of an animal and place it in the medicine bowl. At the end of a year this will turn into a *tohopko* (stone fetish) that could be used in ceremonies and by medicine men. Talayesva was told he could not take one of the mountain lion fetishes since he had not placed the dough in the medicine bowl. He decided against placing his own dough animal in the bowl "... since the journey was hard and dangerous, and I was not sure that I would return" (Simmons 1942:244). Prayer offerings were placed in the medicine cup.

The last of the prayer feathers was then deposited to the clinging salt by the rock wall (Simmons 1942:244). After another prayer, the Hopi collected salt. Talayesva was told it was better to collect the old salt chunks "grubbed up" out of the sand rather than the white shining salt hanging from above. Each Hopi collected about sixty pounds in one bag and a chunk for Salt Woman in a smaller bag. Talayesva remarked that he would like to stay longer and explore the area but the War Chief warned him not to say such things or the spirits may get him. Talayesva remarked his bag was not very heavy but his father warned him to stop that kind of talk or he would not be able to get it up the cliff.

The Hopi ascended the rope and hurried back to the confluence of the Colorado and Little Colorado Rivers where they camped (Simmons 1942:244). Talayesva was warned that night not to look around too much or he would see an evil spirit. He was told of other salt gatherers who had seen spirits and then returned home to find that a relative had died in their absence.

The Hopi made an early start the next day, stopping at the *Sipapuni* to pick up their dried yellow clay (pp. 244-245). Talayesva wanted to examine this sacred spot more carefully but the elders would not allow this. The War Chief led the procession, Talayesva was in the middle, and his father brought up the rear to protect them from evil spirits. When they passed *Ma'saw's* shrine, the War Chief told Talayesva not to look back or he might see a sign that he or one of his relatives would die soon. Talayesva remembered being chased by a bloody *Ma'saw* in his "death journey" so he strictly obeyed that rule.

On passing the Chicken shrine, Talayesva noted his prayer feather was still attached (Simmons 1942:245). Talayesva forgot his father's instructions about which shelf to take and hiked along the upper ledge which led to a steep drop. He lowered his sack of salt down with a rope and then backtracked a quarter of a mile to get to the middle shelf. He had difficulty in catching up to the expedition. The War Chief teased Talayesva, saying that his missing the trail gave the War Chief the right to sleep with Talayesva's wife. The Hopi were growing very tired but Talayesva's father told stories about his love-making with different women and this helped to lighten their load.

Upon reaching the top of Salt Canyon, Talayesva retrieved the burros (Simmons 1942:245). After a feast of melons and *piiki*, the Hopi loaded their burros and started home. They rode on to a camp and that night they reviewed all their experiences on the journey and Talayesva repeated the tradition of how the War Twins had established the salt expeditions.

The next day the Hopi came to Salt Woman and each man placed a large lump of salt in her vulva as an offering (Simmons 1942:245). The expedition passed the gap and had lunch near the checkerboard of the War Twins (Simmons 1942:245-246). They arrived in Moenkopi about mid-afternoon. Talayesva reports that their relatives were rejoiced to see them. They ate a big meal and Talayesva's father gave a detailed account of the salt journey. He concluded (Simmons 1942:246), "Now we have returned to you, and I think our reward will be rain." Everyone agreed.

Talayesva and his father returned to Oraibi the next day and by the time they reached *Ma'saw's* shrine it was raining. They found the corn meal path they had set upon their departure, picked up the feathers, and turned the line eastward. After offering more corn meal, Talayesva reported (Simmons 1942:246), "Then the Cloud People, who had trailed us from the sacred river, poured rain upon our crops—a true miracle."

Talayesva went to his wife's house where he learned that his wife's youngest brother had died three days earlier (Simmons 1942:246). Talayesva reported this made him very sad. He went to his

mother's house to rest. He carefully reviewed his salt journey but could find no fault with his actions. He reports, "I had no bad dreams, saw no evil spirits, and did not look back to see if *Masau'u* followed us. I did carve my initials on my Sun emblem, but certainly that would not have caused the death of the little boy." When he returned to his wife's house he recounted his experiences on the salt journey to her family. The women put a ceremonial shawl upon the salt for a time and then divided it among the relatives. Talayesva reports he did not sleep with his wife for four days (Simmons 1942:247).

As recounted by Talayesva, the salt expedition from Oraibi lasted a total of six days. It took one day to travel to Moenkopi. From Moenkopi, the expedition to the salt mine and back entailed a journey of four days with three camps. A final day was spent traveling back to Oraibi. Twenty-five prayer offerings were made at springs and shrines along the way.

In *Sun Chief*, Talayesva also included an account of his journey to Zuni Lake for salt (Simmons 1942:252-255). Talayesva describes the expedition to Zuni Salt Lake as a traditional pilgrimage but one that was not as ritually-imbued as the salt pilgrimage to the Grand Canyon. In part this was because the pilgrimage to the Grand Canyon entailed the final aspects of the *Wuwtsim* ceremony, whereas the expedition to Zuni Salt Lake was to obtain salt for domestic purposes and to deposit offerings for rain. Talayesva also pointed out that since the Grand Canyon is the abode of spirits, this added danger to an expedition there. As he described it, "We could eat modern food on the journey to Zuni Lake, for this is not as dangerous territory as Salt Canyon near the House of the Dead" (Simmons 1942:253). However, many rituals were common to both expeditions, e.g., going through the motions of copulation with the Salt Woman in order to demonstrate respect (Simmons 1942:254).

Pilgrimage Descriptions by GCES Cultural Advisors

Plans for a salt expedition to *Öngtupqa* were usually announced at Soyalung, the Winter Solstice ceremony.²⁰⁸ At this time, people prepared feathers for the Grand Canyon and attached these to a *paaho* (prayer stick). Hopi cultural advisors observed that even if the purpose of a salt expedition was to solely collect salt for domestic use, and the pilgrimage was not associated with the *Wuwtsim*, rituals to deliver *paaho* to shrines along the trail were still carried out. Salt expeditions were usually undertaken in August, September, or October. This was a good time for an expedition because the summer rains had subsided and the temperature in the Grand Canyon was more moderate than earlier in the summer. Most salt pilgrimages were undertaken after the *Maraw* Ceremony held at *nasanmuyaw* ("moon of plenty").

The general route taken during a salt pilgrimage was described by a cultural advisor from Shungopavi.²⁰⁹

In making the trip to the canyon salt mine, travel began from the villages with a first stop at the picture rocks, west of Moencopi village, and a following day at the rim area a place called "Salt Lady." In a descent the following day only some will make

²⁰⁸ Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moencopi.

Polingyouma, Hopi Salt Trail through Black Point.

²⁰⁹ Paul Saukie interview, July 15, 1991, p. 1.

the trip into the canyon ... someone has to watch over the food and burros on the rim. In the descent, several sites are visited before *Sipapuni*. At crossing before *Sipapuni*, traditional bath in the river takes place, before the salt. It is said if the trip is good the river is warm and clear and there will be plenty of salt. *Kömi* figurines are placed under dripping salt from ceiling of the cave. Figurines are collected the following year. On return trip, one does not look back.

A cultural advisor from Old Oraibi described the role of the pilgrimage as part of the Tribal Initiation ceremony formerly conducted at his village.²¹⁰

The village of Oraibi is the major group that visits the canyon as part of the initiation ceremony. It is from there we learned the importance of the canyon and what it means to the Hopi people. I was instructed that when you get initiated into the *Wuwtsim* society, the main *Wiimi*, and the *Soyalung* ... the men folks would ask among themselves if anyone would volunteer to take the initiates to the canyon for a ceremonial visit. They would know the visit is very sacred and many fear of revisit. Leaders would ask the men. At least this is what is done in our kiva, the Snake Kiva. It two or more volunteer to take the initiates into the canyon that would complete this portion of the initiation cycle before the *Soyalung* ceremony. I don't know how other kivas decide for this trip but this is the way it is done down in our kiva.

... they asked among the kiva members in each kiva if anyone is willing to take all the initiates from other kivas as well. Once the volunteers are identified a public announcement is made ... that the young initiates are planning to visit to Grand Canyon salt mine to collect salt for their paternal aunts. The young initiates would then make a visit to their paternal aunt home to announce their desire to collect salt for them.

Men talk about their experiences ... it is a test of men and one can expose their true self. There are a number of things the initiates perform before the group actually gets to the salt mine. Hopi people believe that if one is initiated into the *Wuwtsim* society they must make this visit. If they should not complete this part of the initiation cycle, when one passes into the underworld people there will pound yucca root on your hip.

A cultural advisor from Hotevilla described the ritual his grandfather conducted during pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon.²¹¹

... they used to do their prayer feathers, their prayer sticks ... and there are those things along the way that they do, you know. At different shrines, they leave their *paaho* and go to the next one, for different deities, different ancestral clans. As they went along, and then all the way to the Salt Woman. And, if they treated the Salt Woman right, you know, they would get an abundance of salt. So, you know, these are some of things that basically gives you ... need to respect what goes on. To me, that is what he is telling me. The trip itself tells me, if you go down there with a chip

²¹⁰ Simon Polingyumtewa interview, July 30, 1991, pp. 2-4.

²¹¹ Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 18-19.

on your shoulder, and say, "Hey, nothing is going to happen to me", you know, because if you trip, you know, you are strong, things like that. I have heard from this person, from my grandfather, that even times they would send able bodied men, young men, [they] would have a terrible time over there. Because ... they would go down with the thinking that, you know, "Hey, if these old guys can do it, there is nothing going to be, you know." So, this is what happens, I guess, it, its basically telling you that you need to respect. And, this is what I would expect somebody, other than a Hopi person, to do, to respect what I have ... That is what we are looking to. I think that is the aim, of the Hopi people ... that we need people to be strong in their beliefs, yet, respectable enough to give us that prayer, so that we could be strong together.

Other rituals associated with the salt pilgrimage were described by a cultural advisor from Hotevilla.²¹²

In the Old Oraibi initiation ceremony there are many things that are performed in this ceremonial process. In a visit to the canyon, the initiates would leave and after visits to some important shrine site along the way, a first night is spent at picture rocks, *tutuvani* ...

In a visit to the Salt Mine, in the descent, there are a number of shrines along the route before it reaches the salt and the big river. I understand that there is a small protruding stone at the top of a descent to the river that is used to tie a rope and in the use of *qomi*, dough of sweet corn meal, that is pasted to the rock around the rope is tied to hold it in place in a descent. It is amazing how this can be done. Prior to this, at the beginning of the trail at a shrine of *Pökanghoya*, *qömi* was also offered for guidance throughout their journey. *Qömi* is a medicine that is used throughout the trip in the canyon. There are other areas that can be used for descent without the use of a rope but it had to be made harder ...

It is not a long drop but I heard that coming up with the use of rope is difficult. It takes several tries for some before they can make it. If one is not able to make it up everyone tries to help ... Of course, there is a reason for all of this, test of endurance for each young man. This is where we show our true self and many fear this.

In describing a salt expedition, a cultural advisor from Shungopavi recollected,²¹³

The only thing is the foot trail. They would leave the donkeys up on top. There would always be one individual who would look after them. From there, they would descend into the canyon with "*qömi*" (sweet corn mush). When they got close to the edge of the cliff, they would put this there and put their rope around it, then descend into the canyon. This is what they would do when they arrived there, from here.

It is because of the Salt. They go down there for that. That is what they talk to us about. They go down in there. This is where they start from. The trail is clearly

²¹² Simon Polingyumtewa, July 30, 1991, pp. 4-8.

²¹³ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, pp. 1, 3, 9.

identified west of Oraibi and if you go on foot, you can probably find it. There are markers (*tuswan isomo*) along the trail. This is where they would rest and go on again. They are about this high and they are probably still there, even though it's been there so long. The trail goes on to Moencopi, to a place call "*Tutuveni*" *Mawyavi*, this is where they inscribe their names (clan mark). The rocks there are covered with it ... The Navahos live close by and have defaced some of it.

From there they go towards the southeast direction where you can cross to the other side, river crossing.

There is a small creek that you cross and you can see the trail. I used to work there in 1963 when we were quarrying, rock. The trail goes through there. The people at Moencopi know of this trail and would talk about this trail going to the salt. We used a pickup truck to get to the trail head into the canyon. From there, it is a big crevice.

When you get to the trail head, there is a small rock sitting there at the cliff. Its pretty deep. That is where they put the "*qömi*" and repel down. From there, they go on foot to the river and cross it. The river that comes from Cameron. When they cross this river, then they come to the "*Sipapu*" below. A short distance from the *Sipapu*, there is only one small trail.

The trail goes on the banks of the Little Colorado River as you go. Somewhere along there the river is an arrow where one crosses. Right in this area, when they went at that time, they came upon a big store. It was like a whiteman's store. Things were hanging here and there. Then they decided to see what it was but, they told themselves not to bother it. There was quite a number of them that went on the pilgrimage. The only ones that I remember was our uncle and Qotsyestewa and Wayne Susunkewa's uncle. I was just talking about him earlier. So, they continued on to the salt mine. At the salt mine, they are going to go down. It is the same there, they used "*qömi*" again to climb down into the salt mine. When they got to the bottom, they went to the salt and there was a small amount of water near the salt. They said that the water was real cold. At the salt, they did they prayers and offerings. They would only take a small amount, what they can carry. Then when it is time to leave, they would pray to the "salt" for all the good things it has to offer. They would also take the "*qömi*" and roll it into little balls and leave it at the salt. The next time they went down, these little balls would be hard as rock. It is something most unbelievable. Upon doing this, they would start on their return back home. It was a different situation getting out of the canyon. Where they had seen the whiteman's store earlier, it was no longer there, as they made their way out of the canyon. It was quite a ways from the salt.

One of the most spiritually powerful places visited during the pilgrimage to *Öngtupqa* was the *Sipapuni*. It was important to conduct the proper rituals at this sacred location. A cultural advisor from Oraibi explained,²¹⁴

²¹⁴ Simon Polingyumtewa interview, July 30, 1991, pp. 10-11.

... when they visited the salt and ... go to the *Sipapuni* ... it bubbles at the top. When Hopi goes there we always bring offerings of *paaho*, that is how we pay for everything we bring home. Ritual is performed at the *Sipapuni*, it is probably the leader of the group who go first. One puts *paaho* and cornmeal in his hand and put his whole arm to the extent he can reach and release the *paaho* in the water inside the hole. We don't know how or where the *paaho* goes because the next guy will not see his *paaho*. When one places a *paaho* inside, they pray for things he desire or want to possess then release the *paaho* inside and scrape out yellow clay, *pavisa*. Some bring out nice yellow clay and others pull out different shades of *pavisa* from the same hole. They said it is frightening because it tells your state of mind and one may expose his true self to the group and the underworld. This has to be performed in good faith and good state of mind to bring up nice shade of yellow ... It can be a frightening process.

A cultural advisor from Shungopavi also described the collection of *pavisa* at the *Sipapuni*.²¹⁵

Collecting *pavisa* from *Sipapuni*, one place a prayer feather and corn meal in their hands and put their hand in the *Sipapuni*, place the feather in the spring and pull out *pavisa*. Sometimes ... one would pull out hair or *moputsuu* (yucca root). This reflects the young man's state of mind or heart, and others would bring up nice yellow clay; this all from the same spring. This event is referred to as *mamakutsya*.

Many cultural advisors discussed the ritual importance of *pavisa* and its use in making Hopi *paaho*.²¹⁶ *Pavisa* is a culturally valuable pigment whose only source is the *Sipapuni*. The prayer offerings left when *pavisa* is collected are an important part of the spiritual reciprocity entailed in Hopi use of the *Sipapuni*.

Like the *Sipapuni*, the Hopi Salt Mine is an important shrine where prayer offerings are left and a valuable mineral is collected.²¹⁷ Cultural advisors from Shipaulovi described some of the rituals that are conducted at the Hopi Salt Mine.²¹⁸

In the ceremony, when one reaches the salt mine they take a bath with the salt water, drink and sprinkle the water in the four directions to invite the rain to visit the homeland. Salt is also used in planting corn. At the mine, molds are made from

²¹⁵ Paul Saukie interview, July 15, 1991, p. 1.

²¹⁶ Alton Honanhi interview, July 21, 1991, pp. 27-32.

Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 19.

Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, p. 12.

²¹⁷ Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1993, p. 7.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 11.

Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1991, p. 26.

²¹⁸ Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quavema, and Cedric Kewaninveya interview, July 15, 1991, p. 1.

sweet corn meal and are left at the mine for a year, crystallized into salt forms of anything one desires to possess —cattle, chickens, and so forth.

Cultural advisors from Mishongnovi compared the collection of salt from *Öngtupqa* with the collection of salt from the Zuni Salt Lake in New Mexico.²¹⁹

Salt Mine is a real reason for visits by the Hopi people. Like I said, I have never been there but I understand that the salts are formed like icicles hanging in the caves. Zuni salt is mining and digging; in the Grand Canyon it is collecting. It is more difficult to get the salt from this area, difficulty in getting to the salt and other areas generally visited on this excursion."

Öngtupqa is a spiritually dangerous place, and, as one Hopi woman explained, "Our people took a whole lot of risk to go get salt."²²⁰ Hopi men described how there are many ways the canyon can test one's manhood and how this causes fear among young men.²²¹ As a test, the pilgrimage was associated with powerful rituals and spiritual experiences, as well as physical hardship.

The Hopis traveling on salt expeditions used to store food and water along the trail so others following them would have something to eat and drink, or so they themselves would have supplies on their return.²²² One of the places food was cached was at Mawyavi.²²³ There were small camps along the Little Colorado River where the Hopi would camp coming and going to the Salt.

Hopi men making a salt journey would condition themselves by running daily and consuming little food and water.²²⁴ If people were not physically prepared for a strenuous journey, they would be discouraged from attempting to go for salt.²²⁵ Burros were welcomed as a means to haul salt once it was hiked out of the canyon.

A cultural advisor from Hotevilla recalled that his grandfather described pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon using burros for transportation. According to this advisor,²²⁶

²¹⁹ LaVern Siweumtewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991, p. 2.

²²⁰ Ruby Chimerica interview, December 22, 1993, p. 3.

²²¹ Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 2.

Simon Polingyumtewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, June 13, 1991, p. 12.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 3, 1991, p. 11.

²²² Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moencopi.

Polingyouma, Salt Trail through Black Point.

²²³ Orville Hongeva interview, July 7, 1993, p. 7.

²²⁴ Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moencopi.

²²⁵ Polingyouma, Salt Trail through Black Point.

²²⁶ Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 10-14.

The way my grandfather was telling us that they would go so far with the burrows. Up to the ledge probably. They just leave them there and start going on foot from there on. They never say how many miles it was but they said it was quite a ways. All the places, what it means going down into the trail. They usually carry a lot of prayer feathers and they get to certain places and they are called so many different names, going down in that canyon and going up to the salt where they gather it. That is where they have been giving it to, I guess, "the people." The way he said, there are people that have been living down in that area. They carry all these prayer feathers to certain place, to a certain spot. They know where these places are. They leave it there and go on to the next place and then come up the same way, too.

Sometimes the older priests on Salt Pilgrimages would stay at the top of the Salt Trail Canyon to take care of the burros and replenish supplies while the younger participants made the strenuous hike down to the Hopi Salt Mine.²²⁷ On an expedition to collect salt for domestic use, it might take several days to gather enough salt. This might entail several trips from the head of Salt Trail Canyon to the Hopi Salt Mine. Salt from the Hopi Salt Mine is heavy when collected because it is moist, making it heavy to carry on foot or on burros, especially where the trail zigzags up the escarpment of the canyon.²²⁸ The return trip to the Hopi Mesas was usually slow as a result. Some Hopi men would have great ideas about hauling a lot of salt, only to leave behind part of their load as they climbed out of the canyon. One cultural advisor reported, "Its not as easy as one thinks, salt is heavy at the distance one has to travel with the load on his back."

All pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon were difficult and occasionally the men who went returned without salt.²²⁹ Cultural advisors from Second Mesa recalled that "... sometimes it was reported that the waters were too high that many Hopi returned without salt, this is also feared."²³⁰ If a man went with the wrong attitude, that could also prevent him from returning with salt. A cultural advisor from Moenkopi explained that elders still teach young Hopis that you should not expect too much. These elders use the pilgrimage to *Öngtupqa* as an example, saying that if someone had grand expectations they could not bring their load up and would have to leave most of the salt behind.²³¹ It is important to take only a moderate amount of salt, and then only after the appropriate ritual offerings have been made to provide spiritual reciprocity.

A cultural advisor from Hotevilla expressed these cultural values in his description of pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* from his village. He said,²³²

One time, they got lost out there somewhere in there and they can not find their way out. It took them three days to get out. They were pretty short on food by the time

²²⁷ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 18.

²²⁸ Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moenkopi.

²²⁹ Dalton Taylor in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, April 23, 1991, p. 2.

²³⁰ Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quavema, and Cedric Kewaninveya interview, July 15, 1991, p. 2.

²³¹ Orville Hongeva interview, July 7, 1993, p. 15.

²³² Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, p. 27.

they found the trail back again. One time, they were telling me that when they left their burrows up on top there somewhere, something came up and spooked all their burrows away and they had to hunt for them for quite awhile. They had to gather them up before they started coming back home.

Well, there was a lot of ... happiness, you know, everybody was elated, even for the fact that they came back, you know, because, like I say, they were well into their seventies ... when they went down ... And some people thought that they would not even survive the trip, you know, because of, of the physical ... things that they have to go through. And everybody was surprised ... that they came back, physically sound. Maybe outside of a bunch of sore muscles, and things like that, their legs, you know, they came back in good order. And salt, well, they brought back salt.

And, I was asking my grandfather about that, you know. How come he did not pack a lot of salt on those donkeys. And he says, "well, I am going to tell it to you like this." Well, this is the first time, I have heard this one, which continues to be a part of me now. Is the fact that Hopi people, when they go after things like this, you do not dig up the whole mine. You do not dig up everything. You have to leave some for tomorrow. The other part of that, is the fact that, salt, is ... not something that we do in a big abundance of things. We use it as ... something that is, like special, you know. In them days, when I was growing up, candy was a little bit special, you know. You do not get it everyday. Likewise with the salt, you know, they use it sparingly. And he said, "this is a lot of salt." Then he asked me, he said, "have you ever sat down, after I grind this, have you ever thought of sitting down and counting them to see how many there were in a piece of salt? And he was talking about the granules of salt that I would have to count. And he said that, "You do not doubt, sand, salt, and things of the granule nature to say, this is a very small amount. Because you may not have time to count a pinch of salt, before your usefulness here on earth is over with."

And I sat there, and thought for a while, and says "Are you pulling my leg?" "No, I am not pulling your leg!" That is very true, that is one of the facts that you need to know. So today, um, a spoonful of sugar, you know, if, somebody says, "well, this is not enough, I got to have more" you know, that comes to my mind, right now. You have to use it sparingly. Hence, the idea of using things sparingly, everything. Everything that we do. Use it in moderation, you will be fine. But, these are some of the things that are basically, to me, even though it is an every day activity. Nothing, that, would indicate I am at the canyon doing all of this stuff. I am here with the teachings that go back and forth, okay. We have these shrines down there. Physically, there are not too many Hopi people that are fit to make the trip or trips that they did in the early 1900s.

By completing a ritual journey to *Öngtupqa*, young initiates were tested and spiritually cleansed, thereby attaining manhood and qualification as priests. As one advisor from Shungopavi said, "During initiation visit it is said that it is the place where young men wash off their initiation makeup and leave their burden of youth at the salt spring. Upon return to the villages they come as new men ..."233

233 Paul Saukie interview, August 17, 1992, p. 2.

Hopi cultural advisors described the importance of the rituals undertaken to welcome the return of men who undertook pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa*.²³⁴ These men would go to the home of a paternal aunt to make a gift of the salt they collected. After a ritual smoke with his uncles, the man would tell the story of his journey. His aunts would care for the man, wash his hair, and, if the man was a new initiate, bless him with a new name. There would be a feast to celebrate the successful pilgrimage. One Hopi woman from Bacavi explained that pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* were a very emotional experience for women because the men might not return. Until the men actually returned, the women would tell each other "not to be afraid." The women in the village would know when to expect the men to return, and the aunts were prepared to greet them and fulfill their ritual obligations.²³⁵

Even though they were not ritual pilgrimages, the Hopi-GCES river trips had elements of traditional practices to mark their conclusion. On the first river trip undertaken by a large group of Hopis, Ruby Chimerica prepared a traditional meal to feed everyone when they ascended from the canyon.²³⁶ She has never seen the hair washing or other ceremonies that were a traditional part of the greeting, and only one of the men on the river trip was her nephew, so she sought advice from the elders of Bacavi about how she should go about preparing the ritual meal. She asked her elders about her plans to feed the men to make sure what she was doing was culturally appropriate. She was advised to give *hooma* (prayer meal offering) and to feed the ancestors in the canyon first by putting food aside for them. She did this, leaving her offerings by the canyon rim. After thinking about what foods to prepare, she decided that the staple foods of corns, beans, and melons were what the Hopi people have long survived on, and that these were therefore the appropriate foods to serve. She prepared beans, *somiviki* (a type of corn tamale), *piiki*, and melons at the office of the NPS Park Archaeologist, who was invited to share the meal with the Hopis. At the conclusion of other GCES river trips, groups of related men who went down the river gathered for family feasts, followed by the recounting of events and places experienced on the trip, sometimes accompanied by slides. Hopi traditions of welcoming back men from the Grand Canyon thus continue into the present.

Description of the Cave of Nukpana

Malotki and Lomatuway'ma (1987:125-136) present a translation of a Hopi text that describes one aspect of the Salt Pilgrimage. This text describes the prophecy that occurred at the cave of *Nukpana*, the home of *Ma'saw*.

In the days past, the Hopi men used to go on salt journeys to *Öntupqa*, that is, the Grand Canyon. In their narratives they relate, that after they started out from Orayvi and reached the canyon rim, they usually spent the night at the top and did not start their descent until the next morning. On their way down they came to a cavern known by the name of *Nukpana* ("The Evil One"). Upon reaching this site, those men who were making this expedition for the first time, were informed that on entering the cave they would find food strewn about.

²³⁴ Harlen Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, June 13, 1991, p. 13.

Paul Saukie interview, August 17, 1992, p. 2.

Paul Saukie interview, July 15, 1991, pp. 1-2.

²³⁵ Ruby Chimerica interview, December 22, 1993, pp. 2-3.

²³⁶ Ruby Chimerica interview, December 22, 1993, pp. 3-4.

And, indeed, this was true. At one place in the cave they came across a metate with some cornmeal on it. If upon inspection the flour turned out to be freshly ground, this was an unfavorable sign. But if by chance the cornmeal was old, then this was supposed to be a good omen. It foretold how our crops and our food would be provided for us in the near future. Those who have undertaken this journey agree that new things found in the cavern portend adverse food and crop conditions. Consequently they used to say that the man who discovered something good there should not be desirous of it. On the other hand, the salt expedition members were elated whenever they came across some old corn cobs. These, according to tradition, indicated that all of the various crops would be produced in abundance.

Malotki described a prayer stick he found at this cave that he says provides a "positive identification" of *Ma'saw's* home (Malotki and Lomatuway'ma (1987:127).

Pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* for Purposes other than Salt Collection

Although the published literature concentrates on descriptions of "Salt Pilgrimages" associated with the *Wuwtsim*, it should be reiterated that Hopi men journey to the Grand Canyon to perform a variety of religious activities. The "Salt Pilgrimage" is important but it is not the only reason the Hopis travel to *Öngtupqa*. Traditionally, Hopi men who hunted in the vicinity of *Öngtupqa* would sometimes visit the canyon with ritual offerings.²³⁷ Men from Third Mesa would occasionally go to the Grand Canyon for ritual purposes other than a *Wuwtsim* pilgrimage.²³⁸ Men from Shungopavi still go to the Grand Canyon for esoteric religious purposes, and to collect herbs, clay, and other items used in ceremonies.²³⁹ Hopi cultural advisors explain, however, that these continuing visits are not publicized so the general public is unaware of them.

There are also two shrines or offering places associated with *Öngtupqa* that are visited during the *homvi'kya* conducted to pay homage to *Hopitutskwa*, or Hopi lands (Kooyahoema 1978:1; *Qua Töqti* 1989; Page 1982:606-629; Page and Page 1982:205-231; Whiteley 1989). One offering place is located below the Desert Watchtower on the south rim of the Grand Canyon, overlooking the Hopi Salt Mine on the Colorado River. Here the Hopi religious leaders offer prayers and *paaho* to *Öngwu'ti* (Salt Lady). In the past, the *paaho* left at this shrine have been taken by non-Hopis so the Hopis have recently begun to bury the prayer offerings to protect them.²⁴⁰ The Hopi religious leaders also plant *paaho* at *Koninhahawpi* (Havasupai Descent Place), at the head of the Supai Trail on the south rim of the Grand Canyon.²⁴¹ The *paaho* are buried in a cave near the Supai Trail.

²³⁷ LaVern Siweumtewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991, p. 2.

²³⁸ Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, pp. 2-3.

²³⁹ Lloyd Ami interview, June 2, 1994, p. 4.

Ben Nuvamsa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip. pp. 29-30.

Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moencopi.

²⁴⁰ Dalton Taylor interview, July 7, 1993, pp. 1-2.

²⁴¹ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 40-42.

Dalton Taylor interview, July 7, 1993, pp. 1-2.

There is a ritual place near the cave called *Potavey'taqa* or the "plaque" shrine since there is a petroglyph on the bedrock of a Hopi plaque design representing a migration symbol. Other designs pecked in the bedrock at this location include Cloud, Sun Forehead, Bluebird, and Eagle symbols.

Historical Change in Hopi Pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon

Titiev (1937:244) pointed out that before the twentieth century it was necessary for large groups of Hopis to participate in pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon in order to protect themselves from enemies they might encounter along the route. After the U. S. Army pacified the hostile tribes in the Southwest, and Hopis were no longer in danger of being attacked by other Indians, it became possible for smaller groups of men to make pilgrimages. This historical process made it possible for only 3 men to participate in the 1911 pilgrimage described by Don Talayesva (Simmons 1942: 232-246),

During the twentieth century, pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* for purposes other than the collection of salt have virtually replaced pilgrimages associated with the Tribal Initiation. To a large degree the changing nature of pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon relates to historical events that led to the Oraibi split in 1906, followed by the development of five new villages on Third Mesa (Whiteley 1988a; Levy 1992). As a result of the social changes that were associated with the Oraibi split, Hopi ritual on Third Mesa was restructured and the performance of certain ceremonies, including the *Wuwtsim*, gradually ceased. The last *Wuwtsim* initiations were held in 1909, the year of a second split at Oraibi, but a few aspects of the *Wuwtsim* ceremonies continued to be performed for several more decades (Whiteley 1988a:273). Eventually, with no new initiates in the *Wuwtsim*, there was no longer any ritual need to conduct pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon to complete the Tribal Initiation rites.²⁴²

One cultural advisor recollected this history by explaining that,²⁴³

... the Oraibi ceremonial cycle pretty much collapsed when Oraibi was physically divided in the early part of the 1900's, which, of course, resulted in a split of the village and establishment of Hotevilla and Bacavi. From that point on the *Wuwtsim* ceremony became pretty much endangered simply because the societies and the priesthoodship within those societies were also divided and split up physically. But more importantly the harmony and the kind of cooperation that was demanded of these priest people pretty much was disrupted and over at Oraibi they conducted ... the *Wuwtsim* ... for a little period of time after that. But it slowly just died out ... I believe there isn't anymore *Wuwtsim* members over in Oraibi Village today. Over in Hotevilla they ... attempted to do some initiations, I believe twice. One I believe, I'm not too sure of my dates, but I believe the last one was attempted around 1938, and the earlier one I think maybe about 10, 15 years earlier.

In describing the demise of the pilgrimage to *Öngtupqa* at Third Mesa, an 84 year old man from Hotevilla stated,²⁴⁴

²⁴² Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moencopi.

²⁴³ Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 15-16.

²⁴⁴ Simon Polingyumptewa interview, July 30, 1991, p. 4.

When we got initiated and they asked among themselves but no one wants to take us on that trip, and again following our initiation no one volunteer to take them down into the canyon. Now after that, the men who know the ceremony got old and the young men do not know the ceremony should someone volunteer to take us down. So I never complete that portion of the initiation process so when I die they may have to pound yucca root on my hip bone.

This man explained that in the 1930s no one at Hotevilla wanted to take the responsibility to lead a pilgrimage of initiates to *Öngtupqa* because there are serious consequences if rituals are not performed correctly.²⁴⁵ Unless the proper rituals are conducted, *Öngtupqa* is a spiritually dangerous place.

Another factor in the decrease of expeditions to collect salt from *Öngtupqa* is the gradual replacement of salt from natural sources by salt purchased commercially (Titiev 1972:352; Livingston 1992:59-60). Hopi cultural advisors note that prior to the introduction of commercial salt, salt from *Öngtupqa* was a priceless resource.²⁴⁶ After the introduction of commercial salt, however, visits to the canyon to collect salt for domestic use decreased. As one cultural advisor said,²⁴⁷ "... since the more frequent use of commercial salt, the collecting excursions has become difficult and ceremonial visits less frequent. Since the *Wuwtsim* ceremonial practices have ceased in many villages, ceremonial visit to salt mines has been less frequent, however Hopis continue to visit with special ceremonies."

Hopi cultural advisors point out that in Hopi culture one should not wish to go into the Grand Canyon.²⁴⁸ It is usually the uncles that make the final decision about who should make a trip into the canyon and when. Thus, in the absence of a ceremonial purpose, young men are discouraged from traveling to *Öngtupqa*. Given this cultural value, the decrease of pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon is a measure of the respect the Hopi people have for *Öngtupqa*. As one cultural advisor from Oraibi explained,²⁴⁹ "They don't use it ... ceremonial wise, you know, because ... Shungopavi ... is the only village that still practice this society who are the only ones that go down. Here at Old Oraibi its extinct now that they don't go down there anymore, but its still respected."

In considering what appears to some scholars to be a demise in ritual pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa*, it should be kept in mind that sometimes Hopi rituals have a periodicity or cyclical nature that makes them appear extinct when they are really still part of the culture. As Whiteley (1989a:66) perceptively observed, "Some Hopi religious practices have ceased during the twentieth century, but since some have been subsequently revitalized, it is not possible to determine whether in particular cases a demise has been final." Moreover, as Whiteley (1989a:67) added, "The diminution of some

²⁴⁵ Simon Polingyumtewa interpreted by Abbott Sekaquaptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, June 13, 1991, pp. 11-13.

²⁴⁶ Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moencopi.

²⁴⁷ Paul Saukie interview, August 17, 1992, p. 2.

²⁴⁸ Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 1.

²⁴⁹ Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 10.

religious practices does not ... materially affect the religious relationship to the environment." Also, the ceremonial cycle is still observed by Hopi, thereby acknowledging clan and society roles.

Michaelis (1981:11) found this to be true when after a project to record the petroglyphs at *Tutuveni*, she presented her findings to the Board of the Second Mesa Cultural Center. Based on the discussion that ensued, Michaelis collected information that indicated the collection of salt by the Hopi was still occurring. As she concluded, "It is now becoming increasingly clear that while the ceremonial quest for salt is an ongoing Hopi endeavor the journey with all its attendant ceremonial is undertaken at irregular intervals."

With specific reference to revival of pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa*, Clemmer (1995:197) reports that in 1970 "Salt-gathering Trips" to the Grand Canyon were reinitiated after a lapse of at least 40 years. Initially these trips were accomplished by men from Second Mesa. The fifth trip in this series of recent pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon, however, was undertaken by Hopis from both Second and Third Mesa. According to Clemmer, the purpose of these recent trips has been to validate and strengthen Hopi use of shrines in the Grand Canyon, and to affirm the Hopi's spiritual claim to land.

Traditional Uses of Salt from the Hopi Salt Mine

The salt collected from *Öngtupqa* is traditionally given to paternal aunts, who used it for ceremonial cooking and domestic purposes.²⁵⁰ As Beaglehole (1937:52) observed, "This salt was brown in color, a soft rock salt, easily ground down but when added to food it turned the latter a yellowish color."

Colton (1965:14) notes that "rock salt" from both the Grand Canyon and the Zuni Salt Lake was used as a common mordant in the preparation of Hopi dyes. As Colton explained, "A mordant is a chemical used to precipitate the active principal of the dye in the fiber. The mordant is said to fix or set the color and make the dye insoluble in water or water with neutral soaps."

Salt was sometimes stored in sacks. A cultural advisor from Oraibi recollects that in as late as the 1930s, his family still had sacks of salt collected from the Hopi Salt Mine in *Öngtupqa* by his uncle Poliyestewa.²⁵¹ In some Hopi households, salt was also stored for use in water jars, *kyusivu*, placed under the floor and sealed over with mud until more was needed.²⁵²

Before the advent of commercial salt, salt from *Öngtupqa* was a precious possession, and used sparingly. It was served in a special ceramic salt vessel. Hough (1919:239) illustrated one such vessel collected for the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution. (Figure 23).

²⁵⁰ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 20.

Owen Numkena interview, July 3, 1994, p. 4.

²⁵¹ Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1993, p. 25.

²⁵² LaVern Siweumptewa interview, January 14, 1992, p. 2.



Figure 23. Hopi salt jar in collection of the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution Source: Hough (1919:Pl. 23).

The stalactites and stalagmites of salt collected at the Hopi Salt Mine were sometimes strung on cords and worn as necklaces in Hopi ceremonies (Eiseman 1959:2). In describing the use of salt from *Öngtupqa*, a cultural advisor from Hotevilla also noted that salt stalactites were strung and hung around the necks of children. He said,²⁵³

On Third Mesa, they also brought stalactites ... from the Grand Canyon. And the pieces of it they strung on a piece of string, and then they hung it around the necks of children. And when the children were out running about, or maybe have some snack, or were eating, they could also lick the salt that they had hanging around their neck ...

One cultural advisor from Bacavi recollected that rock salt was used to parch corn. As he described, "Long time ago when salt was used it would dissolve and set at the bottom of a container. When it is needed again you just pour water in it and use it again."²⁵⁴

A cultural advisor from Hotevilla described how salt from both *Öngtupqa* and the Zuni Salt Lake was occasionally used as a commodity for exchange between Hopis.²⁵⁵

Among themselves, yeah, they did that. When I was a youngster, some woman, the mother of a house would have a sale, and they would put containers of beans, different varieties, maybe some wheat if they had a plentiful supply of it, some cornmeal if they had a plentiful supply, you know a surplus supply. And if they had some salt, rock salt from either place, if they had a surplus of that then they would put a container of that outside the house. They would line them out outside the house on a blanket or on the ground. So all the containers would be lined up, and they would ask one of the elderly men or the village crier to announce that she was bartering. And then the women would go over there and look at what she had, and they would ask her what she wanted in return. So if they wanted something, they would go back to the house and get what the lady wanted and then take it over there and trade. And that was one of the things they did with the salt from those sources.

²⁵³ Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, January 21, 1992, p. 4.

²⁵⁴ Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, pp. 47-48.

²⁵⁵ Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, January 21, 1992, pp. 4-5.

Among relatives they would in a sharing way do that, or they could trade individually. Most of the time when anything, including salt, was given as a gift, they would just reciprocate at another time by giving them something else that you think the person who gave the salt might be in need of. Not at the same time, but maybe some days or months later, maybe doing the growing season they would take some produce over there that they raised. That's a kind of a gift exchange. They gave salt as well as other things.

Eiseman (1959:31), who interviewed Hopis about how salt from *Öngtupqa* was used, summarized his findings by stating,

Most told us that the salt was used on food, just like salt purchased from the store. They told us it tasted better than regular salt. Most of them asked for samples of the salt for their own use. They called it *si-eunga* rather than *eunga*, the usual term for regular salt.

It is true that the salt itself is used for culinary purposes. However, it is also used in certain secret ceremonies, the exact nature of which was not disclosed. Several informants stated this salt is regularly used in most of the ceremonies of the annual ceremonial cycle in the Hopi villages.

Watson (1943:49) documented that the Hopi word for salt is "*uh:nga*," and that salt is a member of a class of foods termed "*uh:ngála*," which Watson says are or were in the past more scarce than the staples in Hopi diet. Watson (1943:50) stated, "There can be no doubt as to the gustatory function of salt in Hopi or any diet, and the partial phonetic identity between *uh:nga* and *uh:ngála* seems, therefore, more than accidental." *Uh:ngála* [*Öngala*] foods are items that are scarce, hard-to-get, or "costly," and which are not consumed in large quantities at any given time. *Öngala* means "to make something better or stronger."

ROUTE OF THE SALT TRAIL TO THE GRAND CANYON

Hopi trails provide a physical link between the Hopi villages and the Grand Canyon. There are a number of different trails that the Hopi used to access various locations in the Grand Canyon for different purposes, including ritual pilgrimages, hunting, and trading with neighboring Indian tribes. The route of the Salt Trail used during ritual pilgrimages is discussed first.

Research to Locate the Salt Trail and Hopi Salt Mine prior to the GCES Project

Documentation is available from 6 different research projects undertaken to locate the Salt Trail and Hopi Salt Mine prior to the Hopi GCES project. This research is briefly summarized below.

Otis Marston

In 1950, Otis Marston collected salt upstream of the junction of the Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers in the belief this was the Hopi Salt Mine (Marston 1951). Analysis of this mineral indicated it was composed of sodium chloride and sodium sulfate. Marston wrote, "This combination of salts would produce results on the human body that would meet the description given as 'salt medicine.'" However, because the site visited by Marston was upstream of the Little Colorado River

and downstream of Kwagunt Rapid, this location was not the Hopi Salt Mine. Marston probably collected salt from the salt deposits between River Miles 60 and 61.

Walter Taylor

Walter Taylor attempted to locate the Hopi Salt Mine during a brief archaeological reconnaissance of the Grand Canyon in 1953 (Taylor 1954, 1958). He collected salt from an area near the Little Colorado River, cautioning that, "Although there are some doubts as to whether or not we found the exact spot at which the Hopi take their salt, there is good reason to believe that we did locate the deposits which within a range of no more than a few hundred yards, include the Hopi 'mine.'" Taylor had the salt he collected from the Grand Canyon analyzed to determine its chemical constituents. He described the sample as (Taylor 1954:5),

... a very poor table salt. There is a high proportion of water-insoluble impurities, the acid soluble part of which contains ions only of calcium and sulfate, i.e., plaster of paris. This quality, plus the 5% which was water-soluble, makes this compound between 50 and 60 percent plaster. There is also considerable magnesium and sodium sulfate, both of which are purgative. The amount of common salt minerals, sodium and potassium chloride, is relatively small.

Taylor compared this result with analyses of salt from other major salt sources in the Southwest (i.e., the Zuni Salt Lake and Verde Valley) and with salt from archaeological contexts (Medicine Cave, Walapai Cave, and Mesa Verde). His conclusions regarding Hopi salt, however, are not entirely accurate. As Eiseman (1959:30) subsequently determined, Taylor's salt sample was taken from the bottom of the Bright Angel shale in a side canyon far from the site where Eiseman located the Hopi salt mine. Eiseman concluded that Taylor's sample site lacked all the geographical features mentioned in *Sun Chief* (Simmons 1942:232-246), and was thus not the Hopi salt mine. Taylor's salt sample was collected near to but not at the Hopi Salt Mine, and therefore does not accurately characterize the Hopi salt. While Taylor's analyses of other salt sources in the Southwest provide useful comparative data, it must be kept in mind that the salt he analyzed from the Grand Canyon was collected from an inferior source other than the Hopi Salt Mine.

National Park Service

In 1956, three NPS Rangers hiked down the Salt Trail Canyon to the Little Colorado River, proceeded to the Colorado River, and then hiked out along the Tanner Trail. In summarizing the archaeological aspects of this reconnaissance, Davis (1956:3) wrote,

As there has been, and is some controversy concerning the route to and the location of the Hopi salt mine, every effort was made to tie in the various landmarks with the narratives of the salt trek. While many of the places mentioned in the account of Don Talayesva's trek in 1912 were missed, the general description fits this route and some shrines and places were definitely identified and there is no doubt in my mind that this is the same route taken by Talayesva.

The shrines or general shrine locations Davis identified included images of the War Twins just below the trailhead, Spreading Buttocks, home of the dead of the Reed Clan, Stitching Seam carved by War Twins, Home of the Chickens, Nose Scraping Place, cave of Nukpana, and the Home of the Koyemshi. In addition, two shrines not mentioned by Talayesva were observed, "... consisting of piles of fist size pieces of jasper about 2-3 feet high." Along the Little Colorado, Davis located

"Blue Salt" and "Going Down Salt" on the north side of the stream about 1.5 miles below the mouth of Salt Trail Canyon. Davis also located the "Original Sipapu." The rangers did not visit the Hopi Salt Mine but Davis accurately describes its general location.

Fred B. Eiseman

Fred B. Eiseman's was a school teacher from St. Louis, Missouri, who investigated the route of the Salt Trail during the period 1955-1959 (Eiseman 1959:26; 1961). His first reconnaissance took place during river trips in 1955-1957, at which time Eiseman identified the location of the Hopi Salt Mine based in part on a wooden ladder observed leaning against the cliff. Eiseman's subsequent investigation of the Salt Trail built on the work of Davis (1956) and a reconnaissance by J. H. Butchart of Flagstaff. In 1957, he intended to conduct his expedition with a Hopi guide, but reported that "... no Hopis could be found who were physically able and willing to go" (Eiseman 1959:26).

Eiseman (1959:26) noted the Grand Canyon salt mine was the property of the Hopi Indians. To reduce the chance of vandalism of Hopi shrines, Eiseman did not provide an exact description of the route of the Salt Trail or the location of the Salt Mine in his published accounts. Eiseman (n.d.) provides a detailed description of the Hopi Salt Trail, however, in an unpublished manuscript at the Museum of Northern Arizona intended only for the use of "qualified personnel." Eiseman (n.d.:2-3) states,

The trail is marked rather well with cairns every few feet and with arrows painted on the rock. After descending through the Kaibab and Coconino to the canyon floor, it follows the east side of Salt Trail Canyon on a ledge of Supai as the floor of the canyon drops rapidly. About one and one-half miles past the head of the trail, the trail turns sharply right and descends talus to the canyon floor just at the top of the Redwall, crossing to the other side (west).

The chicken rock is on the floor of the wash at the crossover point. The nose scratching place is probably upstream from the crossover.

The trail then follows the top of the Redwall to the mouth of Salt Trail Canyon ... The two piles of jasper and agate are on this part of the trail about a mile below the crossover point. The cave with the pile of boulders is only a few hundred yards below the crossover.

The trail now descends through the Redwall, becoming very steep and rocky. Two-thirds of the way down this Redwall slope is the cave with oxides of iron.

The Going Down Salt and Blue Salt are located on the north side of the Little Colorado at about mile 5.5 ... at mile 4.5, is the Sipapu, on the north bank of the stream.

At the Colorado River, it is an easy matter to ascend the Tapeats cliff on the south side of the mouth.

The crucial part is identifying the proper ravine into which to make the descent to the ladder ... This ravine is located at mile 63.8 on the Birdseye map that river parties use.

Eiseman (n.d.:3-4) continued the description of the Salt Trail along the Colorado River by stating,

The ravine to be entered is quite steep walled and deep. Passing along the Beamer Trail on the top of the Tapeats, the trail heads most of the little washes ... The Salt Mine ravine is the third ravine from the Little Colorado into which the Beamer Trail descends.

A rock pile cairn is located at trail level on the north side of the salt mine ravine.

Entrance to the ravine is gained by walking around or into the head of the canyon to the south side ... The sheer cliffs can be scaled by noting places below where stone slabs are piled up.

Walking out to the end of the canyon, one can see the ladder to the south and the mushroom rock just below at the foot of a small ledge. Affix a rope ... A 50 foot rope would do if one were to use the mushroom rock ... Descending the cliff, one comes immediately to the salt encrustation and the foot of the ladder.

Eiseman's manuscript includes 33 captioned photographs illustrating general views of the Salt Trail Canyon, Chicken Rock, the Home of *Ma'saw*, two shrines of fist-sized pieces of agate, the mouth of Salt Trail Canyon, the *Sipapuni*, the mushroom rock at the descent place, the descent into the salt deposit, and the sand bar at the mouth of the salt mine ravine.

Eiseman (1959:30) collected about 50 pounds of salt from the Hopi Salt Mine and had it analyzed by the St. Louis Testing Laboratories. Eiseman had a mixture of the three varieties of salt samples analyzed by the St. Louis Testing Laboratories. The sample included 64.2% sodium chloride, 18.04% sodium sulfate, 8.66% silica, 3.14% magnesium sulfate, and small amounts of moisture & water of hydration, iron oxide, calcium oxide, and acid insoluble. A sample of the salt Eiseman collected was deposited at the Museum of Northern Arizona. Eiseman (1959:30) compares this analysis to that of Taylor (1954), and observes that the Hopi salt mine deposits are not as pure in sodium chloride as the salt from the Zuni Salt Lake, the Camp Verde mine, or Medicine Cave, which average about 84% sodium chloride.

Eiseman showed Hopis samples of the salt he collected from the Hopi Salt Mine. He reported, however, that "Most of the Hopi interviewed had no strong desire to talk about the salt trip and the uses of the salt" (Eiseman 1959:31).

Museum of Northern Arizona

In 1968, Peter Pilles at the Museum of Northern Arizona mapped 120 km (74 mi) of the Hopi Salt Trail, dividing the route into six segments for purposes of archaeological recordation (Museum of Northern Arizona 1968). These segments were assigned Site Number NA 10531 (A-F), and plotted on maps at the scale of 1:62,500. Three additional Hopi traditional cultural properties were recorded as archaeological sites: the Koyemshi cave (identified by Pilles as the "cave of Masau'u;" NA 10535), the *Sipapuni* (NA 10536), and the Salt Mine (NA 10537). Pilles gives the "mushroom-like rock at ledge" as a terrain reference point for the Salt Mine.

Bob Dawson

Bob Dawson, a hiker from Flagstaff, Arizona, made several trips to the Hopi Salt Mine in the company of Ben Nuvumsa from Shungopavi. These trips occurred between 1978 and 1986. Dawson collected a sample of salt from the Hopi Salt Mine which was analyzed by Rod Parnell in the Geology Department of Northern Arizona University. Parnell's (1986) letter report on this analysis stated that, "The Hopi Salt appears to be mostly that - Salt (NaCl , or Halite). The other major constituent is thenardite, which is a sodium sulfate salt (Na_2SO_4)." In comparing this analysis to the sample of salt analyzed by Taylor (1954:5), it can be concluded that the Hopi Salt Mine is located at the best source of pure salt seeping out of the cliffs near the Little Colorado River.

Research of Eric Polingyouma

As part of the Hopi GCES project, Eric Polingyouma researched the traditional history collected from tribal elders that documents and describes Hopi pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon. He summarized his findings in three written reports describing the Hopi trails used to journey to Öngtupqa.²⁵⁶

Salt Trail to the Grand Canyon through Moenkopi

The trail used by Third Mesa Hopi to travel to the Hopi Salt Mine is called the Salt Trail or Ceremonial Trail in English. This trail was primarily used by Hopis during the collection of salt during rituals associated with the *Wuwtsim* (Tribal Initiation). It was also used, however, during expeditions to collect salt for domestic purposes. Hopis from Oraibi and Hotevilla would use the same trail to the Hopi Salt Mine but schedule their expeditions at different times.²⁵⁷ Polingyouma's brief description of this trail does not detail the esoteric ritual activities that occurred during use of this route.

The Third Mesa ceremonial trail runs in a westerly direction past *Aponivi* (Mount Beautiful).²⁵⁸ At Howell Mesa a trail segment with a terminus at Hotevilla joins this trail. The trail then crosses Coal Mine Mesa and runs to the north of Highway 264, which closely follows the Hopi trail to Moenkopi. From Moenkopi, the trail proceeds in a northwesterly direction to Moenave, and then to *Tutuveni*, where there was an overnight camp. Polingyouma notes that at *Tutuveni* each member of the party usually put their clan symbol on a rock before proceeding the next day. There are few springs or shady areas between *Tutuveni* and Öngtupqa and few stops were made. A number of cairns or rock piles mark the trail in this vicinity. After a ritual visit was paid to Öngwu'ti (Salt Woman), the Hopis would camp overnight at the head of Salt Trail Canyon.

The trail beyond this point is steep and pack animals were not used. The burros used for transportation would be hobbled at the head of Salt Trail Canyon. Part of the food needed for the

²⁵⁶ Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moenkopi.

Polingyouma, Hopi Salt Trail through Black Point.

Polingyouma, Hopi Salt Trail to Grand Canyon Salt, An Alternate Trail.

²⁵⁷ Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moenkopi.

²⁵⁸ Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moenkopi.

return trip would be stored here while the Hopis proceeded on foot. Cultural advisors recollect that it took one day to travel down Salt Trail Canyon and the Little Colorado River with several stops for ritual activities at Hopi shrines. One day was spent in collecting salt. A third day was spent in traveling out of the Little Colorado River Gorge. Polingyouma notes the trip to the Hopi Salt Mine thus usually lasted about seven to ten days.²⁵⁹

Polingyouma observed that through time the modes of transportation used on the Hopi Salt Trail changed. What was originally foot trails became used by pack animals, wagons, and, more recently, motorized vehicles.²⁶⁰ Several attempts were made to use wagons to get salt for domestic purposes but this was very difficult and time consuming. The wagons were parked on top of Salt Trail Canyon and several hikes to the Salt Mine were conducted to haul out a load of salt. The introduction of commercial salt obviated the need to collect great quantities of salt from the Hopi Salt Mine for domestic purposes.

Alternate Trails to Grand Canyon Salt

Polingyouma described several alternate trails from the Second Mesa villages to the Hopi Salt Mine and other locations in the Grand Canyon.²⁶¹ One trail begins in the vicinity of Shungopavi on Second Mesa. This trail heads in a westerly direction past *Pautsvi* (Little Burro Spring), and *Masiva* (Gray Spring). At *Masiva* the trail is joined by a trail segment that originates at Oraibi. The trail continues past *Honanva* ("Badger Spring," Sand Springs) and *Sikyava* (Yellow Spring) to *Kömaftsomo* (Black Point), on the west side of the Little Colorado River north of Wupatkti. At Black Point the trail has three branches. One branch leaves Black Point and follows the Little Colorado River, passing *Wuyoönga* ("Old Man Salt") upstream from Salt Trail Canyon, and continuing to the Hopi Salt Mine. This trail is sometimes referred to as the "bottom trail."

The "Old Man Salt" in the Little Colorado River Gorge was used by Hopi men who were too elderly to make the more strenuous journey all the way to the Hopi Salt Mine on the Colorado River.²⁶² Pack animals were able to travel along the trail down the Little Colorado River to the "Old Man Salt." At this point, the older men would watch over the pack animals at the "Old Man Salt Mine" while younger men would deliver prayer feathers to shrines downstream from "Old Man Salt," collect ceremonial materials, and gather salt from the Hopi Salt Mine. The salt from the mine on the Colorado River is said to have more spiritual power than "Old Man Salt."

The trail used to travel to the "Old Man Salt" would also be used to collect sacred water from the Blue Spring in the Little Colorado River. To collect water from this sacred spring took about a day and half of hiking on foot.²⁶³

²⁵⁹ Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moencopi.

²⁶⁰ Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moencopi.

²⁶¹ Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moencopi.

²⁶² Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moencopi.

Polingyouma, Salt Trail through Black Point.

²⁶³ Polingyouma, Salt Trail to Grand Canyon through Moencopi.

From Second Mesa, the trail via Black Point would be used for domestic trips.²⁶⁴ Prior to the introduction of burros and wagons that could haul larger quantities of salt, Hopis would travel to their salt mines annually. They would go to the Zuni Salt Lake and the Verde Valley as well as the Grand Canyon. Salt was used sparingly. In lieu of salt itself, many Hopis used native plants with a high salt content to flavor food.

One branch of the trail past Black Point heads in a westerly direction to *Kalawisa* (Red Butte) and Cataract Creek. The terminus of this trail is off the map plotted by Polingyouma. Hopis from Third Mesa could access this branch through a trail that headed in a southwesterly direction from Moenkopi past Shadow Mountain and the Conin Crossing on the Little Colorado River west of Cameron. The trail from Moenkopi merged with the trail from Second Mesa on the south side of the Little Colorado River. In Polingyouma's words, this trail provided a route to "to the 'canyon' conina and 'far' conina, Peach Springs."²⁶⁵

Eric Polingyouma concluded his research about trails to the Grand Canyon by stating,²⁶⁶

In the canyon ... there are sites that still exist, shrines and places of importance. Older people are encouraging young men to visit the place. The canyon is one of the most important places to the Hopi people. *Sipapuni* in the Grand Canyon is considered to be a place of emergence to many people and a place where one returns to after their life here. To many Hopi this is the most sacred place of all the areas. Only initiated Hopi enter the canyon ... This is the home of *Maasaw*, the guardian ... of the world. One has to be pure at heart and no bad thoughts or anything or anyone.

Recent visits to the areas by tourists seems [like] total disrespect to the Hopi beliefs. We see these places as religious sites and visits by only the initiates of the Hopi religion. Now it has become a playground for the rich who show disrespect for the canyon ... We ... hope the U.S. Government under National Parks can be given a jurisdiction over some of these places for protection.

Description of the Salt Trail by GCES Cultural Advisors

Hopi cultural advisors explained that the Salt Trail to *Öngtupqa* is important because it is the route people follow during their death journey back to the place they began.²⁶⁷ This makes the trail treacherous and dangerous for other people to use. Hopi men who use the trail do so only after preparing themselves ritually and making prayer feathers for offerings.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁴ Polingyouma, Salt Trail through Black Point.

²⁶⁵ Polingyouma, Hopi Salt Trail to Grand Canyon Salt, An Alternate Trail.

²⁶⁶ Polingyouma, Salt Trail through Black Point.

²⁶⁷ Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 1.

Leigh Jenkins interview, January 29, 1992, p. 7.

²⁶⁸ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, pp. 9, 11-12.

The physical trace of the Salt Trail is still visible on the landscape. As a cultural advisor from Shungopavi said, "You will probably find the trail coming from Moenkopi to the trail head into the canyon. It is a pretty well traveled road. You can see the grooves on the ground clearly."²⁶⁹ This cultural advisor saw the trail in 1963 when he worked at Moenkopi.

Hopi cultural advisors report that the route of the trail is marked with "trail markers."²⁷⁰ These trail markers are cairns of stacked rocks that serve as landmarks to designate the aboriginal Hopi lands in this area. In describing the route of the Salt Pilgrimage trail, a cultural advisor from Moenkopi described these trail markers.²⁷¹

One old man told us to go up to the hill right here ... and we saw the trail ... the rocks are stacked all up ... that's [where] the trail is at. And we went across ... the road and almost down to this Little Colorado and we couldn't get close to it because we were just on foot. We left our truck ... we walked down there ... that's ... something that they want to show us. That they have been down there in the Grand Canyon for salt ... he was telling us that the old people use that trail to go down.

A cultural advisor from Shungopavi discussed how trail markers are used, stating, "A lot of times that's the only identification when you go down there. And they'll point out from this point on where this rock pile is, where this hole in the rock is. See these kind of things they will only point out to you and then point out to the next point."²⁷²

Another cultural advisor from Hotevilla said the cairns and rock piles along pilgrimage trails "... are like highway signs except they have more importance than highway signs."²⁷³ He further explained that cairns along the ceremonial trail to *Öngtupqa*, mark the "trail of the fathers" that is used by men to travel to the Grand Canyon and by Cloud People to bring to bring rain to their children on the Hopi Mesas.

They mark the pilgrimage trail, the sacred way. The "trail of the fathers." That's one of the ways that its used. See, there is always in the prayer petitions, they always include petitions for rain. And when they do that through the offerings, they communicate with the rain people, the clouds. And when they return home, then they would, of course, conceptually follow them along this pilgrimage trail. And we have a concept of our kinship relationship with the cloud people ... they are our fathers, but when they manifest themselves in physical form, we are their fathers too. And for non-Indians, it is kind of a hard concept, I guess, because you are not born into it. But it is like saying in certain circumstances that you are my father, and in

²⁶⁹ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 9.

²⁷⁰ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 3.

Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 5.

Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 29, 1992, p. 23.

²⁷¹ Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, pp. 4-5.

²⁷² Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1993, p. 11.

²⁷³ Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, January 21, 1992, p. 12.

other circumstances, I am your father. Its a situation where I am concerned with doing something, or crossing something that will be of your benefit that you are my child. You know, like I am making prayer feathers for you to adorn yourself with, I am doing that as your father. But in return for that, then you come and manifest yourself as a good rain fall or snow fall, then you are doing that for my benefit. Then, for that reason, you are my father and you are my child. So depending on what is happening, we have the same relationship to each other. That's the reason why I say the trail of the fathers.

Information about the Salt Trail is a treasured part of Hopi culture. The trail "all the way down to the canyon" is known about in traditional history, even by those who have personally not used the trail for religious purposes.²⁷⁴ For instance, one cultural advisor reported that his grandfather told him that,²⁷⁵

... there were two ways of going down there. One they call, "old man's trail" and that probably is the easy way around. You know these young guys that go down that cliff and they hang themselves to get down to the bottom. [The Old Man's Trail is] somewhere up along in there. The old folks says it goes along the ledge and they use that trail instead of the high cliff. There are two trails that go around in the same area. I do not know which side, I have never been down there before.

Cultural advisors from Third Mesa recollect that men from Second Mesa using the Salt Trail would often stop at Oraibi for encouragement "and probably go through a ... traditional ceremony before they move on."²⁷⁶ Advisors from Second Mesa also note that their ancestors would also deliver prayer offerings to the Grand Canyon using short cuts which eliminated the ceremonial trail. The exact route of this short cut is uncertain today.²⁷⁷

Hopi Place Names along Pilgrimage Trail

A cultural advisor from Hotevilla recalled that his grandfather knew 37 places where Hopis stopped to make ritual offerings on pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa*. Hopi religious leaders at Hotevilla still make ritual preparations for these offering places every year and deposit them in shrines near their

²⁷⁴ Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, pp. 3-4.

LaVern Siweumtewa and Frank Mofsie, Notes of T. J. Ferguson from interview on July 9, 1991, conducted by Eric Polingyouma and T. J. Ferguson, Mishongnovi, Arizona. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, p. 1. [Hereinafter referred to as Ferguson Notes, LaVern Siweumtewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991.]

Ferrell Secakuku, Oral Report of Hopi Tribal Chairman Ferrell Secakuku to the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, August 25, 1994, Kykotsmovi Community Center, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. Transcribed from a tape recording by T. J. Ferguson. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Ferrell Secakuku Report, August 25, 1994.]

²⁷⁵ Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 29, 1992, p. 17.

²⁷⁶ Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1993, p. 19.

²⁷⁷ Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 2.

village.²⁷⁸ At Hotevilla, there is still an oral tradition about the history of these places and their importance in Hopi culture.

Hopi place names associated with the Salt Trail begin at Old Oraibi and extend westward towards Moencopi and the Grand Canyon. Information about 27 place names collected during the GCES project is briefly summarized below. Most but not all of these place names refer to shrines. A few of the place names refer to natural landmarks. Information about place names associated with the Salt Trail was researched using a list of place names produced by Emory Sekaquaptewa and his colleagues at the University of Arizona.²⁷⁹ Additional commentary on place names was added by Walter Hamana of Oraibi Village,²⁸⁰ and by cultural advisors during CRATT meetings.²⁸¹ Many of these places are also described by Don Talayesva in *Sun Chief* (Simmons 1942: 232-246).

1. *Kuyvanwa*, *Pootavi* is a place where rituals are conducted before men from Oraibi depart on a Salt Pilgrimage. It is located in the immediate area of Old Oraibi.
2. *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* are two shrines located in an area called *Pökangwawarspi* between Old Oraibi and Hotevilla. These shrines are located along the Salt Trail, and are used as ritual offering places during pilgrimages. *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya* are two deities sometimes called "warrior gods" in English. The suffix "*warspi*" means "running" so the place *Pökangwawarspi* is named for where the warrior deities do their running.
3. *Hootatismomo* is located in the Coal Mine Mesa area near the chapter house.²⁸²
4. *Porskwi* is the next named place on the pilgrimage trail, in the vicinity of the Coal Mine rodeo grounds near Moenkopi. There is a large rock pile at this location, which is reached after going by *Un Ki Namurzu* and the Coal Mine windmill.
5. *Sususngva* is a sacred spring located south of Moenkopi.
6. *Mawyavi* is a place near Moenavi. Moenavi is an Anglo gloss for a Hopi word, "*Mawya*" which means "harvesting from a tree."

²⁷⁸ Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 29, 1992, pp. 26, 31-32.

Wilton Kooyahoema in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 22.

²⁷⁹ Manuscript entitled "Hopi Place Names," Hopi Dictionary Project, University of Arizona, November 4, 1992. Ms. on file at Cultural Preservation Office, Hopi Tribe, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as "Hopi Place Names, Hopi Dictionary Project."

²⁸⁰ Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1993, pp. 2-14.

²⁸¹ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from June 13, 1991, CRATT Meeting, p. 11.

Cultural Advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes Taken During the Meeting of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, July 17, 1991, Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, Arizona, p. 9. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, July 17, 1991.]

²⁸² Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1993, p. 7.

7. *Pangkuku* is an ancestral village now in ruin located to the west of *Mawyavi* where ritual activities are conducted.
8. *Tutuveni* is located at Willow Springs, northwest of Moenavi. The ceremonial name for this shrine is *Tutuventiwngwu*. This is the well-known petroglyph site where Hopi men place their clan symbols to mark their participation in a pilgrimage. In translation, *Tutuveni* means "the symbol or mark of others."
9. *Totolosp* is a shrine where a ritual "game" is played during a pilgrimage to the Grand Canyon.
10. *Tutukmola* is a trail marker (ritual cairn) rather than a shrine. It is located between *Tutuveni* and the Salt Trail Canyon.
11. *Öngwu'tit Kii'at* is the Salt Woman shrine located between *Tutukmola* and Salt Trail Canyon. Ritual activities are conducted here.
12. *Kuripyakinpi* is located in Salt Trail Canyon. Large bedrock steps are located at this place, which is called "Spreading Buttocks" in English.
13. *Putstukwi* translated as "flat rock point" or "broad cliff" is a location in Salt Trail Canyon. It is the special home of the *Paaqapngyam* (Reed Clan). The site is also associated with the *Tepngyam* (Greasewood Clan).
14. *Patsipvey'taqa* is a shrine in Salt Trail Canyon named after tanned hides.
15. *Pangwtupatsa* is a shrine located on a ledge in Salt Trail Canyon, named after mountain sheep.
16. *Kwantuupe* is a place in Salt Trail Canyon, named after agave roasting.
17. *Yaqarukwanpi* is a shrine in Salt Trail Canyon. In English translation, this is called the "nose-scraper-place."
18. *Kowaakomuy kiiam* is a shrine in Salt Trail Canyon where petroglyphs of chickens were carved by the *Pökanghoya* and *Palöngawhoya*.
19. *Ma'saw* has a sacred cave within Salt Trail Canyon.
20. *Tatatsiqwtömuy kiiam* is a shrine near the mouth of Salt Trail Canyon associated with the *Kooyemsi* (Mudheads). The name is translated as "play ball" kiva. It is sometimes referred to as the Ochre Cave because this pigment can be collected there. This shrine is associated with *Kooyemsi* that only appear during the *Katsina* initiations. During field work in 1991, Dalton Taylor from Shungopavi visited this cave and identified the remains of Hopi prayer sticks found there.²⁸³ These *paaho* are the type made for *Ma'saw*.
21. *Sakwaönga* (Blue Salt) is a source of salt located about one mile upstream of the *Sipapuni*.

²⁸³ Dalton Taylor in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, April 23, 1991, p. 2.

22. *Hawiönga* ("Going Down Salt" or "Coming Down Salt") is located in the Little Colorado River Gorge. *Hawiö* means "to descend" or "going down;" "*Öönga*" means salt.
23. *Sipapuni*, located on the right bank of the Little Colorado River, is also called "the Kiva" or "Pathway" in English.
24. *Hahawpi* ("Going Down Place") is located above the Hopi Salt Mine on the Colorado River. It is this place that Hopis descend to the Salt Mine. *Naahahawpi* means "the place you hang yourself down."
25. *Kwantuhoyvi* is the Kwan Cave located at the Hopi Salt Mine on the Colorado River. In English, it translates to "agave-niche-place." This is a Kwan (One Horn) shrine.
26. *Öngtupqa* is the name for the stretch of the Grand Canyon where the Hopi Salt Mine is located. Translated into English, it means "salt-canyon."
27. *Pisisvayu* is the name for the Colorado River, which flows by the Hopi Salt Mine.

Tutuventiungwu

Tutuveni, one of the stopping places on the Salt Trail, has been extensively documented by scholars (Mallery 1886; Colton and Colton 1931; Colton 1946; McNitt 1962:267; Hooper and Hooper 1977; Michaelis 1981; Weaver 1984). It is at this location that Hopi men produce a petroglyph of their clan symbol to mark their participation in a pilgrimage. The petroglyphs at *Tutuveni* thus provide one measure of the number of Hopi men have gone to *Öngtupqa*.

The petroglyphs at *Tutuveni* were "discovered" by the geologist G. K. Gilbert in 1878, and first reported by Garrick Mallery in 1886 (Mallery 1886). In 1878, a Hopi chief named Tuba explained the significance of the petroglyphs, describing how Hopis would place their clan signs on a rock at the site during pilgrimages to get salt from *Öngtupqa*.

Additional history about *Tutuveni* was recounted in the 1930s by Polihongva (Naimkiwa) of Moencopi, who stated (Hopi Tribe 1939; MacGregor 1938:5-6),

It was during this time of farming at Moencopi, salt was found in the Grand Canyon—where the Hopi people believe they originated. The trail to this salt led through Moenave just west of Moencopi. Three miles below this place is a shrine where the Hopi salt parties stopped. In passing, every member always put a sign of his clan in the stone there. This is about twelve miles from Moencopi. There were other points along this salt trail to the canyon where ceremonies were performed and which had their names, but only here did the Hopi write their clan signs.

In 1931, Edmund Nequatewa gave Mary Russell Colton and Harold S. Colton the same explanation for the placement of petroglyphs as Chief Tuba provided in 1878 (Colton and Colton 1931). Nequatewa explained the petroglyphs were placed in their positions for ritual reasons during the Hopi Salt Pilgrimage (Colton 1946:3-5). Symbols that are repeated represent repeated visits by

the same individual. The Coltons thought the fact that there are symbols for Hopi clans that are extinct, such as the "Moon" and "Oak" Clans, is an indication of the site's antiquity.²⁸⁴

A Hopi cultural advisor from Moenkopi recollected that there used to be a fire hearth by the main rock at *Tutuveni*.²⁸⁵ There were also rock piles to the west of *Tutuveni* that marked the trail to *Öngtupqa*. Both the fire ring and the rock piles near *Tutuveni* are no longer visible but this advisor's father showed him these features when he was a small boy. He was told at that time that the Hopis on a Salt Pilgrimage would camp at this shrine, smoking around the fire circle in the evening. This advisor's grandfather went on one of the pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa*. The Hopi name for the ridge to the east of *Tutuveni* is *Honmuru* (Bear Ridge).

Many Hopis still visit *Tutuveni* to view the clan petroglyphs, and the site is considered to be an important part of Hopi heritage.²⁸⁶ Hopi cultural advisors, like anthropologists, interpret the petroglyphs at *Tutuveni* to indicate that many clans made trips to the Grand Canyon.²⁸⁷ Hopi cultural advisors recognize some of the symbols to be variants of the totems used to symbolize clans. The total number of different symbols is thus larger than the total number of clans represented at the site.

As Colton (1946:2) described, petroglyphs at *Tutuveni* occur on large boulders of Mesozoic sandstone at the bottom of a talus slope at the foot of a mesa. Colton observed that while some petroglyphs are similar to those found in or near other archaeological sites, others are quite different in subject matter. This stylistic variation suggests the site was used over a long time span. The repetitive placement of petroglyphs in rows is unique to this site. Edmund Nequatewa assisted the Coltons with identification of the petroglyphs as clan symbols (Colton and Colton 1931:32-33). The Coltons document symbols representing 27 clans (Table 13). Unrecognized symbols were interpreted as extinct clans. Examples of the clan symbols identified by Nequatewa and the Coltons are illustrated in Figure 24.

It is relevant to note that in the nineteenth century Stephen (1894b) and Fewkes (1897) documented that totemic clan symbols were used to signify individual Hopi men. Several of the totemic signatures identified by Fewkes are recognizable in the clan symbols at *Tutuveni*.

Hooper and Hooper (1977) documented 17 clan symbols at *Tutuveni* with photographs in a magazine article published in 1977 (Table 13). Their identification of clan symbols were made with

²⁸⁴ Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma notes these might be symbols of clan totems that represent other clans.

²⁸⁵ Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 6.

Alton Honanhi in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team Meeting, August 28, 1991, pp. 1-2. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, August 28, 1991.]

²⁸⁶ Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 25-26.

Orville Hongeva in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 35.

Simon Polingyumtewa interview, July 30, 1991, pp. 4-5.

²⁸⁷ Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quavema, and Cedric Kewaninveya interview, July 15, 1991, p. 1.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 17.

the assistance Nellie Douma of the Corn Clan and Hilda Nahee of the Tobacco Clan, both from Polacca Village.

The most complete recording of *Tutuveni* was completed by Michaelis (1981). Michaelis documented 2,178 petroglyphs on forty boulders. These petroglyphs, range from 7.5 to 37.5 cm in height and from 3 to 10 cm in width. Michaelis documented petroglyphs representing the symbols of 33 Hopi clans (Table 13). Based on an analysis of repetitive petroglyphs, Michaelis (1981:6) concluded that "... some men were involved for many years in this particular ceremonial endeavor." Her analysis indicated one Corn Clan man made 16 stops at *Tutuveni*, and one Strap Clan and one Lizard Clan man each made 12 visits. The clans that sent the most men to the Grand Canyon include the Bear, Corn, Coyote, Crow, Lizard, and Sun Clans.

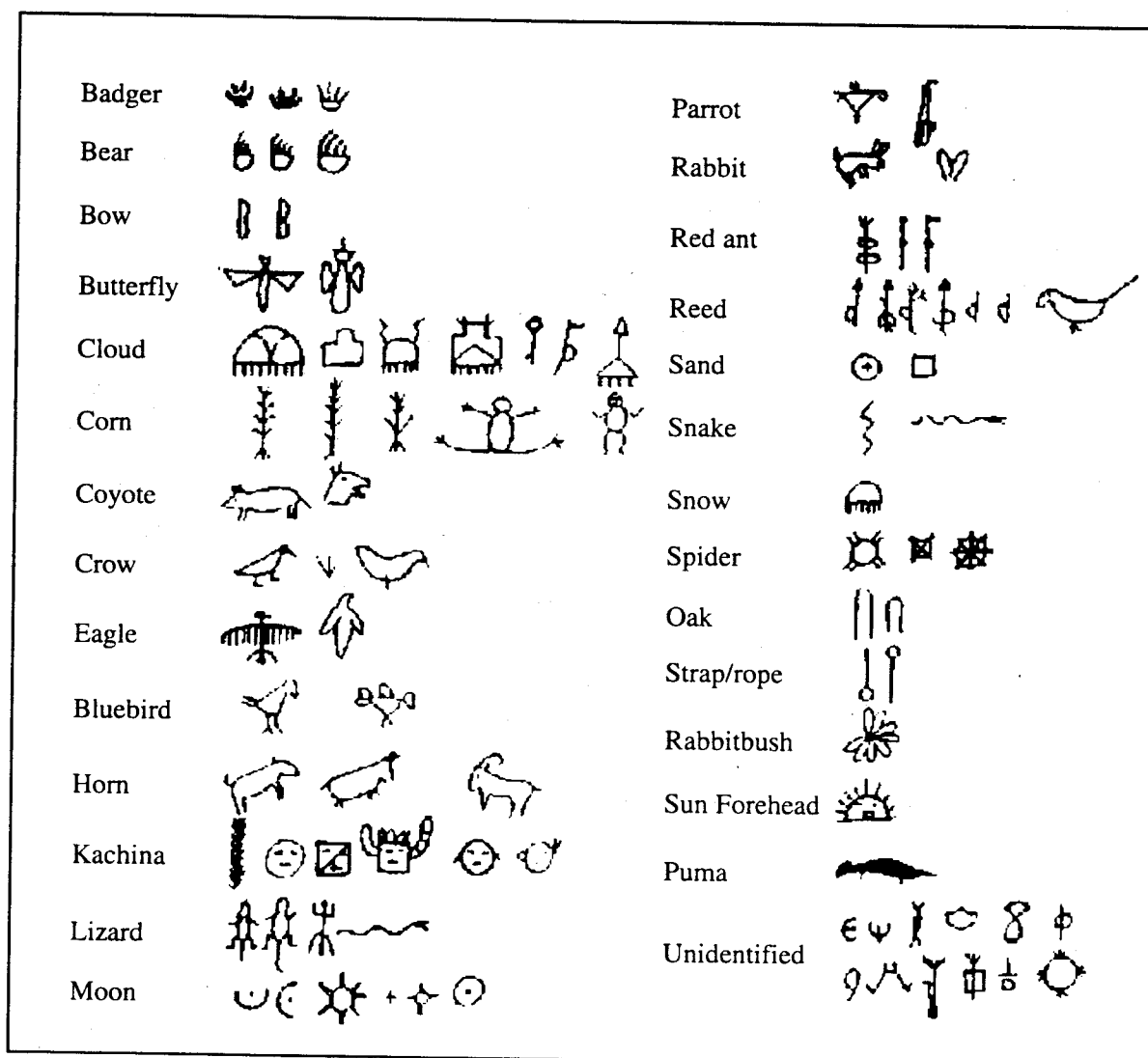


Figure 24. Clan symbols at Tutuveni recognized by Edmund Nequatewa in 1931 (adapted from Colton 1946:4).

Table 13

Clan Symbols Documented at Tutuveni

<i>Clan</i>	<i>Presence Documented by Coltons (1931)</i>	<i>Presence Documented by Hoopers (1977)</i>	<i>Number Recorded by Michaelis (1981)</i>	<i>Presence Documented by Hopis (1992)</i>
Arrow			24	
Badger	✓		16	✓
Bear	✓		304	✓
Bird			43	
Bluebird	✓	✓		✓
Bow	✓	✓	32	✓
Butterfly	✓		6	
Cedar (totem)			4	
Cloud	✓	✓	91	✓
Corn	✓	✓	306	✓
Coyote	✓	✓	113	✓
Crow	✓	✓	148	
Dragon Fly (totem)				✓
Eagle	✓			✓
Fox				✓
Frog				✓
Greasewood				✓
Horn	✓		28	
Katsina	✓	✓	37	✓
Lizard	✓		136	
Ma'saw		✓	48	✓
Moon (totem)	✓		14	
Mountain Sheep				✓
Oak (totem)	✓		18	
Parrot	✓	✓	22	✓
Porcupine			8	
Puma	✓			
Rabbit	✓	✓	19	✓
Rabbitbrush	✓		1	
Red Ant	✓	✓	41	
Reed	✓			
Sand	✓		53	✓
Side Corn				✓
Rattlesnake	✓	✓	57	✓
Snow	✓		33	✓
Spider	✓	✓	26	✓

Table 13 (continued)

Star (totem)			13	
Strap	✓	✓	54	✓
Sun	✓	✓	126	✓
Sun Forehead			41	✓
Tadpole (totem)				✓
Tobacco		✓	6	✓
Turkey (deity)				✓
Water		✓	7	✓
Yucca-Agave			7	

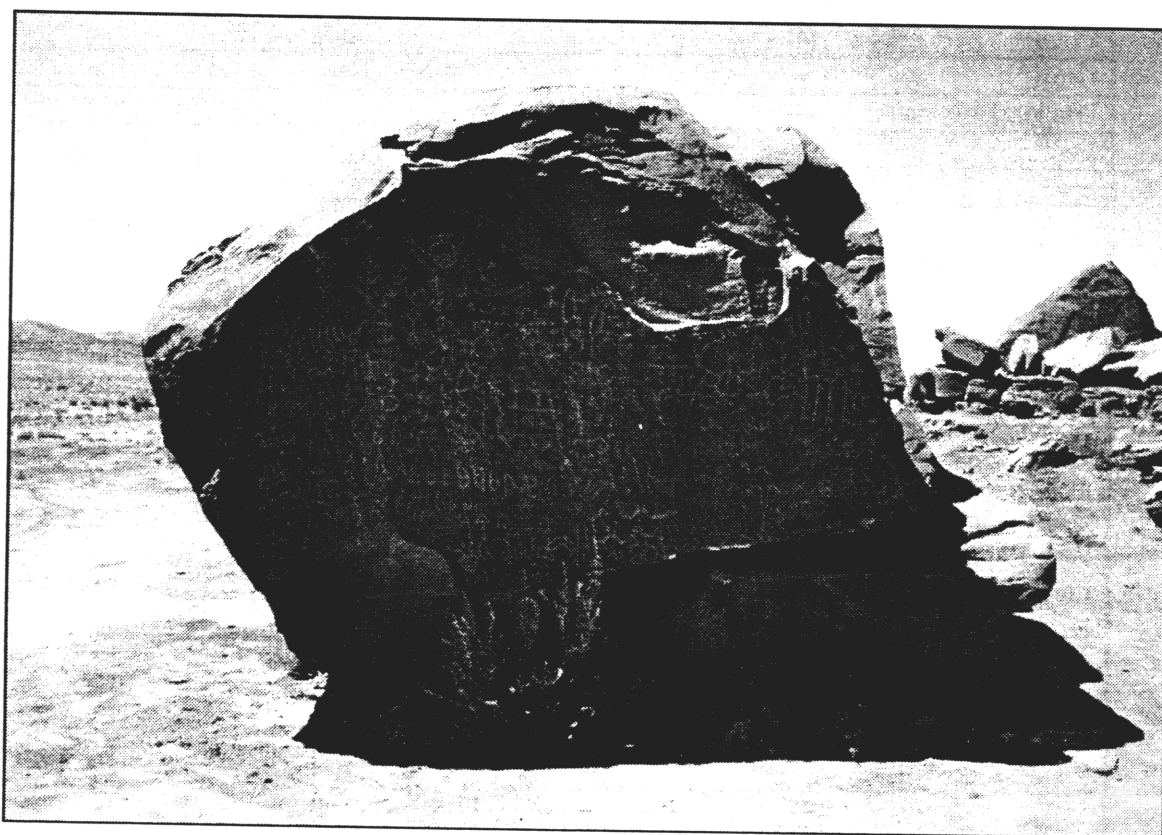


Figure 25. Boulder at *Tutuveni* with clan petroglyphs. Spray paint is visible on left side of boulder. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, July 15, 1992.

Two Hopi cultural advisors made an informal visit to *Tutuveni* in July of 1992.²⁸⁸ While no attempt was made to inventory all the petroglyphs during this visit, a casual inspection of the petroglyphs documented the symbols of 15 Hopi clans (Table 13).

A remarkable feature of the site is the minimum of superimposition of petroglyphs, even in areas where the petroglyphs are densely packed. Michaelis (1981:8) concluded from this that "... people, when placing a new glyph, carefully avoided the destruction of earlier writings." Michaelis also noticed that clan signatures were often clustered together on the same rock at the site. The patination of the pecked surfaces of clan markings at *Tutuveni*, as well as lichen growth, suggest some of the glyphs are very ancient. Michaelis (1981:8) suggested the petroglyphs date as early as AD 1150.

Sadly, vandalism at *Tutuveni* has damaged this important cultural site (Figure 25). This vandalism, consisting of graffiti and defacement of petroglyphs, began about 1940 and has accelerated in recent years.²⁸⁹ Michaelis (1981:3-4) reported that in 1978 Navajo names and "offensive writings" were spray painted on rocks at the site. Additional graffiti 60 cm high and 2.75 m long was painted to deface the ancient clan marks in 1990 (Hardeen 1990:1).

When *Tutuveni* was nominated to the National Register of Historic Places in 1986, it was estimated that approximately 205 of the petroglyphs at the site had been defaced. At that time, Tessman (1986) wrote,

Comparison with photographs taken by Harold Colton about 1928 (N.A. 4492, 1-45, Museum of Northern Arizona) show that an estimated 80% of the Hopi clan inscriptions are intact. The remainder have been damaged or removed entirely ... Names, dates, bogus clan signs, and a variety of graffiti have been added in recent years. Several of these later inscriptions were scratched or painted across Hopi panels, esthetically damaging but not obliterating them. The continuing vandalism of the site is the primary reason for the urgency of this nomination, as a first step towards other actions to protect this valuable resource.

Tessman (1986) noted that the site is a local drinking place as evidenced by scattered broken beer and wine bottles. Such use constitutes desecration of a cultural property that Tessman describes as "... among the most visually impressive of Southwestern petroglyph sites."

The fact that *Tutuveni* is located on lands currently under the jurisdiction of the Navajo Tribe makes it difficult for the Hopi Tribe to effectively manage the site. Nonetheless, the Hopi people are concerned about the desecration of *Tutuveni* by vandalism, and hope that some means are soon developed to adequately protect this cultural site.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁸ T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, July 15, 1992. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.

²⁸⁹ Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 7.

²⁹⁰ Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 15-16.

Historical References to the Salt Trail

Archaeologist E. Charles Adams summarized the archaeological evidence for ritual use of the "the Hopi Salt Trail near Moenkopi. He wrote (Adams 1986:86-88),

Two shrines on the Salt Trail were recorded and were in use in 1934. The first, site 107, lies 9.3 miles (15 km) east of the village. It consists of a pile of rocks where the Hopi users of this trail cleansed themselves. This portion of the trail was used by travelers from Oraibi and other Hopi villages to Moenkopi, as well as those on the expeditions to gather salt. Associated with this rock pile is a white clay (duma) outcrop (site 147) that could have been collected in conjunction with use of the rock pile or on separate occasions. The second site, Tutuveni (Writing or Inscription Rock), lies 9.5 miles (15.3 km) west-northwest of the village. At this place members of the salt expedition would stop and carve or peck their clan emblem in the rock at this shrine. The use of Tutuveni probably dates back hundreds of years and indicates the antiquity of the journey to the location of the salt and of the Sipapu which most Hopi believe is the original place of their emergence from an underworld into the present world. Both the Sipapu and salt source are located on or near where the Little Colorado River enters the Colorado River at the bottom of the canyons. The Sipapu is located in the 1934 Reservation area; the Salt deposit, just outside.

This entire trail leading from Oraibi through the Moenkopi area, to Moenave, to Tutuveni, then to the Sipapu and the salt mine has been in use for hundreds of years, and was still in use in 1912.

Annerino (1986:141) documented that "an old Hopi route" that once descended the east arm of Tanner Canyon was developed into what is now called the Tanner Trail by Seth B. Tanner, a Mormon pioneer and prospector. Tanner rebuilt the upper part of this trail about 1884. The lower part of the trail, between Palisades and the Little Colorado River was improved by Ben Beamer, another prospector who built a cabin on top of an ancestral Hopi site near the mouth of the Little Colorado River (Spangler 1986:124).

At the turn of the century, G. Wharton James (1900:239) gave a very general description of the Salt Trail west of the mouth of the Little Colorado River. He noted that due to infrequent use, this route was rapidly becoming "impassable." James refers to this route as the "Tanner-French Trail of the Grand Canyon." In 1912, the pioneer photographer in the Grand Canyon, Emory Kolb, described the Tanner Trail from the Little Colorado River to Palisades as "without doubt .. used by Indians before the white man invaded this region."

Now that the portions of the Hopi Salt Trail have been incorporated into the Tanner Trail and other trails used for recreational hiking, the Hopi Tribe is increasingly concerned about vandalism of cultural sites along its route (Bidell 1991:2).

THE HOPI TRAIL NETWORK IN THE GRAND CANYON REGION

The Salt Trail was not the only Hopi trail that led to the Colorado River and the Grand Canyon.²⁹¹ The Hopi had a well-developed trail network that connected their villages with the entire Colorado Plateau and points beyond as far as the Gulf of California (Byrkit 1988, 1995; Colton 1941:308, 1948:123-124, 1964; Ferguson et al. 1995; Gregory 1917:Plate II; McGuire 1910:799-801; Spier 1928:244; Yava 1978:117). This trail network included several types of trails, including *pöhu* (paths); *naapvö* (foot trails); *kawayvö* (horse trails); and *qaveetavö* (wagon trails).

These trails were used to support Hopi trade and land use over a wide area. The extent of the geographical area the Hopi formerly had trade connections with is evident in the fact that 11 species of shells from the Pacific Ocean or the Gulf of California have been found in archaeological excavations at Homol'ovi and other prehistoric Hopi sites (Fewkes (1896a). In the historic era, the Hopi were renown for using their trail network for traveling with "phenomenal speed and endurance" (Mason 1910:802). One Hopi messenger is reputed to have run over a Hopi trail to travel 193 km (120 mi) in 15 hours. The major routes in the trail network connecting the Hopi villages with the Grand Canyon are described in this section of the report.

Spiritual Aspects of Hopi Trails

Most segments of the Hopi trail network have shrines or offering places along their route that are associated with *Ma'saw* in his role as owner and guardian of the earth and protector of those who travel over his land (Malotki and Lomatuway'ma 1987:84). Hopis traveling along these trails leave offerings at one of *Ma'saw's* shrines. As Stephen (1936:151) described in the nineteenth century,

Nearly every trail, now, has a cairn upon it at some point, and when a tired Hopi passes it he takes a bunch of grass and rubs his head, arms, legs, etc., and places the tuft and a small portion of his burden on the heap, placing a stone on the tuft, or a bit of wood, to hold it secure. At the same time he asks *Maasaw* to protect him; if returning from a journey he thanks *Maasaw* for his protection.

Parsons (1939:289) observed that prayer feathers are used as an offering for a propitious journey, and are deposited on the trails used by Hopi travelers, including the trails to salt deposits.

A Hopi from Bacavi described how the spiritual activities associated with the use of trails continues to the present day.²⁹² He said that,

... on every journey ... even modern day deer hunts that we go on, you always prepare yourself. You always prepare yourself mentally, spiritually, for a safe trip ... So there is always a prayer feather prepared that is a symbolic path, a good path, and then when arrive back then we reverse the prayer feather and go into the village, you know. And that's for, again, a safe trip, safe trip. The prayer offering is to the forces of nature, to *Ma'saw*, to protect us, to guide us as we go.

²⁹¹ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 20.

²⁹² Leigh Jenkins interview, August 26, 1992, p. 7.

This advisor also explained that trails can be used for both religious pilgrimages and other purposes, and that all trails are associated with offering places that sanctify their use.²⁹³

I think a trail in between the ritual pilgrimages would be used commonly for trading, or for ... plant gathering, for food gathering kinds of trips. And I suppose there is a little distinction there. I think there is still some level of determining of purpose. You go after food, or you are going to see Zuni, or the Supai people ... You go on this trail, and if you honor and respect ... the intent of the trip, a Hopi would always place offerings ...

The spiritual aspects of trails makes these features sacred. The trails provide a religious as well as physical connection between the Hopi villages and the surrounding lands of *Hopituskwa*.

Prehistoric Puebloan Trails in the Glen Canyon Area

The prehistoric Pueblo inhabitants of the Glen Canyon area constructed trail systems running from uplands to the canyon bottoms to gain access to lithic sources in the river bed (Crampton 1988:34). In some places cross-canyon trails were developed. These trails were common in the lower reaches of Glen Canyon in the area now covered by Wahweap Bay and Rock Creek Bay. Crampton notes (1988:34), "Not having iron tools, the Indians laboriously pecked out foothold steps often over breathtakingly steep surfaces. The smooth cup-like steps were not more than four inches wide and two inches deep, the minimum required to keep one from falling." He adds that some prehistoric Puebloan trails were reused in the historic period by Paiutes and Navajos who sometimes improved them using metal tools.

Archaeological and historical salvage studies conducted when the Glen Canyon Dam was constructed resulted in the documentation of many trails in the vicinity (Pattison and Potter 1977; Potter and Drake 1989:88). These studies were summarized by Jennings (1966:45), who described more than 30 trails in the vicinity of Glen Canyon Dam. Jennings stated,

The trails argue that there was habitual travel from one center to another, to say nothing of wide-ranging hunting and collecting trips, and we can postulate a vast network of now forgotten trails (some routes were metamorphosed into modern stock or pack trails or primitive roads) over the whole of Kayenta land and the rest of the Pueblo domain ... The ease and frequency of inter-village contact observed ethnologically has apparently never been fully appreciated or sufficiently stressed as being equally true in prehistoric times, but the highlighting of the Glen Canyon region trail system puts emphasis on an important ecological and sociological point—the canyon dwellers were not confined to the canyons. In addition to well-defined trails, there is clear evidence that some canyons—Smith's Fork ... and Blocked Draw ... were well known and heavily used avenues in and out of the canyon complex.

Historic Hopi Trails to the Colorado River

The Hopi names for Lees Ferry are *Neneqpi Wunasivu* ("where echos come together") and *Yamaqwpi* ("the crossing place").²⁹⁴ The existence of Hopi shrines at this location is evidence that

²⁹³ Leigh Jenkins interview, August 26, 1992, pp. 9-10.

the Hopis have been traveling to this stretch of the Colorado River since time immemorial. Trails from Oraibi to the Colorado River at Lees Ferry are documented on many maps from the late nineteenth century (e.g., Peterman 1875; Hinton 1878; Chief of Engineers 1879; General Land Office 1879; Mitchell 1881; Prudden 1906:map). In Mitchell's 1881 map, for instance, two major trails are depicted (Figure 26).

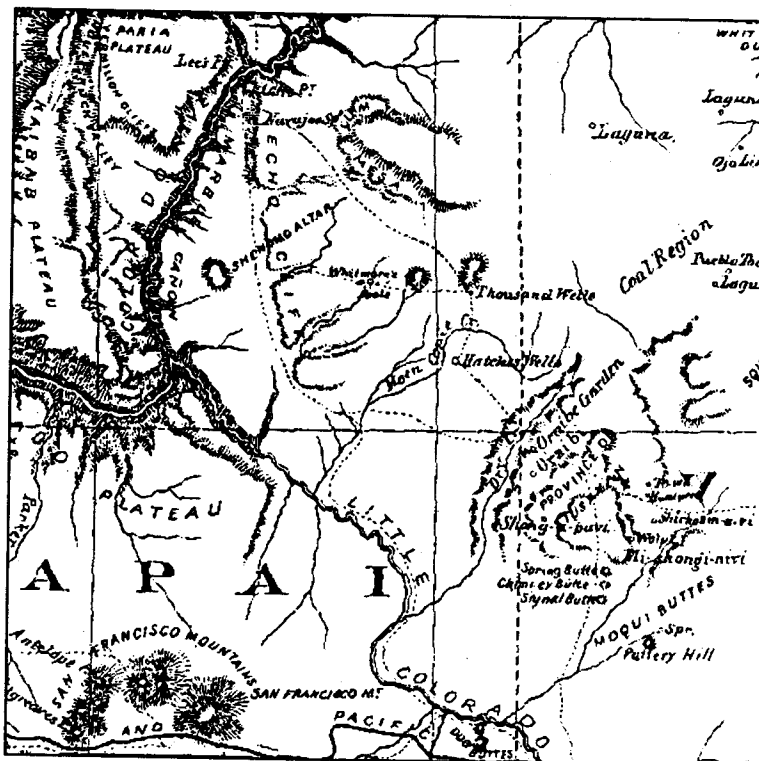


Figure 26. Portion of 1881 Augustus Mitchell map showing trails from Oraibi to the Colorado River.

One trail leaves from Oraibi, heads in a westerly direction to Moenkopi, and then northward along the Echo Cliffs. Another trail lies to the east of this, heading in a northwesterly direction from Oraibi to "Thousand Wells" (Preston Mesa), and then to the skirting the western edge of "White Mesa" (today called Gray Mesa), before arriving at Lees Ferry. These two trails are connected by

294 Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 2.

Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 15.

Walter Hamana interviews, June 20, 1991, pp. 6-7; July 16, 1993, pp. 8-9.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 9-10.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 12-13.

Hopi Place Names, Hopi Dictionary Project.

an east-west trail that runs between Preston Mesa and the Echo Cliffs immediately east of the land form named "Shenomo Altar." It should be noted that Shinumu was a name for the Hopi people briefly used by scientists in the nineteenth century. And, in fact, there is a Hopi shrine at *Pongyatuyqa* ("altar point"), which is the Hopi name for Shinumu (Shenomo) Altar.²⁹⁵

After 1879 the Hopi trail following the Echo Cliffs is depicted as a road and is sometimes labeled on maps as the "Mormon Wagon Road" or "Mormon Road" (Riecker 1879; Eckhoff and Riecker 1880; Southwestern Sash and Door 1941; Rand McNally 1888). This is a result of the Mormons developing the long-extant Hopi trail into a road.

Moqui Trail To Cataract Canyon

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the route the Hopi used to travel to the Havasupai Village was called the "Moqui Trail." The earliest historical documentation of this trail was its use by Garcés when left the Havasupai Village in 1776 to travel to Hopi. This trail, of course, had been previously used for centuries as a trade route between the Havasupai and the Hopi (Casanova 1967:124).

The Moqui Trail was well-described by nineteenth-century travelers (Casanova 1967:124-129). Jacob Hamblin traveled along it in 1863, and Lt. Col. Price described it in 1881, when he led a detachment of U. S. Army troops to Havasupai. One of the most detailed descriptions of the Moqui Trail in the nineteenth century came from a trip Frank Hamilton Cushing made to Havasupai in 1881. Cushing was an anthropologist employed by the Smithsonian Institution.

Cushing followed the Moqui Trail in June of 1881 while traveling from First Mesa to the Havasupai (Cushing 1965:9-35). On this trip he was accompanied by his Cheyenne assistant from the Smithsonian Institution named Tits-ke-mat-se, a Zuni named Tsai-iu-tsaih-ti-wa, and a Hopi guide named Pu-lá-ka-kai. Departing from Zuni Pueblo, Cushing first traveled to Walpi, where the services of the Hopi guide were obtained. The Hopi tried to persuade Cushing to wait until the "autumnal rains" before making the trip since water was scarce along the trail. Cushing persisted in going, however, and, as he wrote, "...with the blessings and prayers of the high priest, said while giving me his parting embrace, and with every facility which Moqui generosity could give or Moqui ingenuity could contrive, — water-bottles, goat-skins, pi-ké, and he-pa-lo-kia-oé, — we set out" (Cushing 1965:23).

After spending a night at Oraibi, Cushing's party "headed west-ward, over rolling, sandy stretches of country, turning at last southward, and following a well beaten trail into the Dieserto Pintado, which borders the Colorado Chiquito." They camped at the Colorado Chiquito (Little Colorado River), which was their last known water source for several days. The next day, Cushing (1965:26) says, "The trail, well beaten, led over plains and little glades, which merging into side valleys, ended in the great gray malpais terrace, over which the stoniest, most difficult trail at last brought me to the long but abrupt ascent of the border of the Kuhni Desert, the eastern edge of the Great Colorado Plateau." In his usual flamboyant style, Cushing (1965:26-28) describes traveling through the Kuhni Desert, a "tortuous journey" of over sixty miles without water. From Cushing's

²⁹⁵ Walter Hamana and Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, February 3, 1992, p. 11.

Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 11.

description of "piñon-clad hills," the "pine regions," and the "grand parks," it is clear he traveled through what is now the Kaibab National Forest south of rim of the Grand Canyon."

Eventually Cushing's party came to "aing-shi-ki-ana" (Bear Spring), located "a day's distance ... from the entrance to the Kuhní cañon" (Cushing 1965:30). There was a little water at this spring, and they camped there two nights, hunting and recuperating before proceeding down the side canyon which led into Cataract Canyon and the village of the Havasupai. Cushing (1965:43) observed that, "Separated by the terrible waterless wastes I have the described, the Moquis and the Zuñis have nevertheless been their constant visitors for generations."

Euler (1965:4-5) reconstructed the route Cushing followed with reference to contemporary map names. From Oraibi the trail went westerly down Blue Canyon to Moenkopi and then to Cameron on the Little Colorado River. From there the trail followed portions of the route that later became the state highway into the east entrance of the Grand Canyon National Park. The trail then headed across the Coconino Basin, which Cushing termed the "Kuhní desert." Euler notes that although Cushing claimed to be the first non-Indian to travel on this part of the trail, the route had been previously used by Garcés in 1776 and by John D. Lee in 1873.

Euler (1965:5) continues the description by stating, "From the Coconino Basin, the trail led down Little Jim Canyon, past a cave which had long been occupied by Havasupai hunting parties, and then out onto the great grassy Cataract Plain, eventually reaching Havasupai, or Cataract Canyon at Topocoba Hilltop." From there, Cushing traveled down Cataract Creek to the village of the Havasupai.

In 1887, two army officers from Fort Wingate, Lt. John J. Pershing and Lt. John Miller Stotsenberg, made a recreational journey to the Grand Canyon (Wallace 1961:265-284). The account of this journey by Stotsenberg indicates that by 1887 the trail from Oraibi to the south rim of the Grand Canyon was well-known by non-Indians. The route was described to them by Mormons, and Stotsenberg and Pershing were able to find it without a guide, albeit with some difficulty. From Oraibi, they followed a route that went to the Grand Canyon via Moencopi and the Little Colorado River. Pershing and Stotsenberg found the trail difficult to follow and ran short of water, thus having perilous "adventure." After overcoming these difficulties, they encountered two Havasupai Indians hunting antelope and eventually arrived at John Hance's cabin near the rim of the Grand Canyon.

The Moqui Trail is depicted on many late nineteenth-century maps (Chief of Engineers 1879; Riecker 1879; Eckhoff and Riecker 1880; Chain & Hardy 1881; Rand McNally 1881, 1888). Figure 27 depicts this trail on an 1888 Rand McNally map.

The route of Moqui Trail was described in tourist publications in the early twentieth century (James 1903:71-72). In one tourist guide, James (1910:145-146) explained that the road to the eastern end of the Grand Canyon "is practically the line of the old Hopi trail." This road passed Grand View Point and Hotel, Hance's Old Camp and Trail, and the Red Canyon Trail. After crossing the Little Colorado at Tanner's Crossing, James described the corn fields of the Moki as being one day's ride (forty miles) along the "Old Hopi Trail." Where the trail passed through the Coconino Forest, it was described as a "horse trail" inaccessible to wagons (James 1910:154).

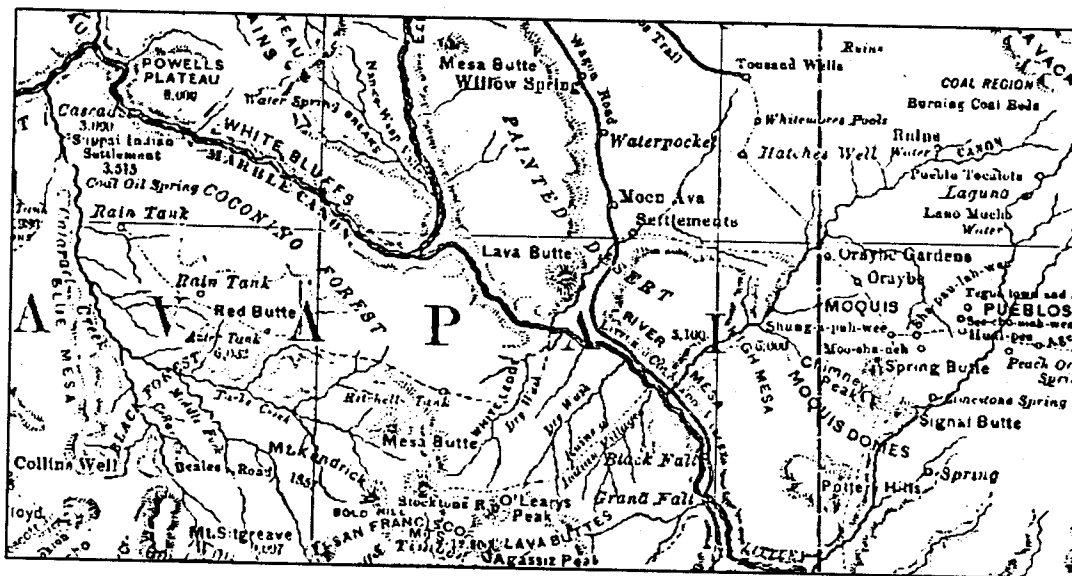


Figure 27. Portion of 1888 Rand McNally map showing trail from Oraibi and Moenkopi to the Havasupai village.

In summarizing the history of the Moqui Trail, James (1910:153) wrote,

One of the most noted aboriginal trails in the western United States, is the old Hopi (generally called Moki) trail, leading from the seven villages of the Hopi and their agricultural offshoot, Moenkopi, to the Canyon of the Havasupais. This was the trail followed by Lieut. Frank Hamilton Cushing — the noted ethnologist — when he visited these Khune kiwes while he was living at the interesting pueblo of Zuni in new Mexico. I have made the whole trip from Hopiland to the Havasupais and back twice, and have ridden for many years over small portions of the trail. It is intimately connected with the history of two of the people seen most at the Canyon. According to Havasupai legends, the Hopis and the Havasupais are descended from twin brothers. Hence they have always been friendly and have traded continuously the products of their own manufacture. The Hopis exchange their horses, sheep, and burros, laden with blankets, pottery and silverware, for buckskin, Havasupai baskets (which they prize very highly), dried peaches, etc.

Originally this was a foot trail; then horses, burros and mules were used; and now, in some portions of its distance, notably from Moenkopi to Oraibi, it is used for wagons.

James (1910:153) said that it took five or six days to travel the full length of the trail from Hopi to Havasupai. In 1910, he wrote that the Hopi used the Moqui Trail to travel to Havasupai several times a year, passing by White Rock Mountain opposite Bass Camp (James 1910:198).

In his description of the Moqui Trail where it leaves Cataract Canyon, James (1910:156-157) wrote,

... in several places, it passes through narrow clefts, with ponderous, overhanging rocks, the whole course barely wide enough to permit a laden mule to get through with its pack. It is an almost vertical ascent of about twelve hundred feet which winds around and up the clefts, up steps hacked out of the solid rock with flint axes and hammers, by the patient hands of long-dead Indians.

The route of this stretch of the Moqui Trail, as documented by Casanova (1967:Figure 1), is illustrated in Figure 28.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the Moqui Trail was largely abandoned (Wray 1990:42-43). In 1910, R. C. W. Pooler, the Forest Supervisor for the Grand Canyon Division of U. S. Forest Service, described the "Old Indian Trail" to the Supai Village in Cataract Canyon as being "in poor condition and most of it abandoned" (Pooler 1910). This trail was described as running between Cataract Canyon and Moki Springs.

In 1944, the Superintendent of the Grand Canyon National Park wrote a memorandum describing the first roads to the Grand Canyon based on a conversation with Dan Hogan, a settler who arrived at the Grand Canyon in 1890. With regard to the Moqui Trail, Bryant stated, "The first road to Grand Canyon from Hance's Place followed along the old Moqui Trail to the vicinity of Rowes Well and then up the canyon, which the railroad now follows, to the rim."

Today, the full extent of the Moqui Trail is rarely traveled. The Havasupai, however, continue to use part of the trail close to their village to move livestock from Cataract Canyon to pastures above the rim (Casanova 1967:124).

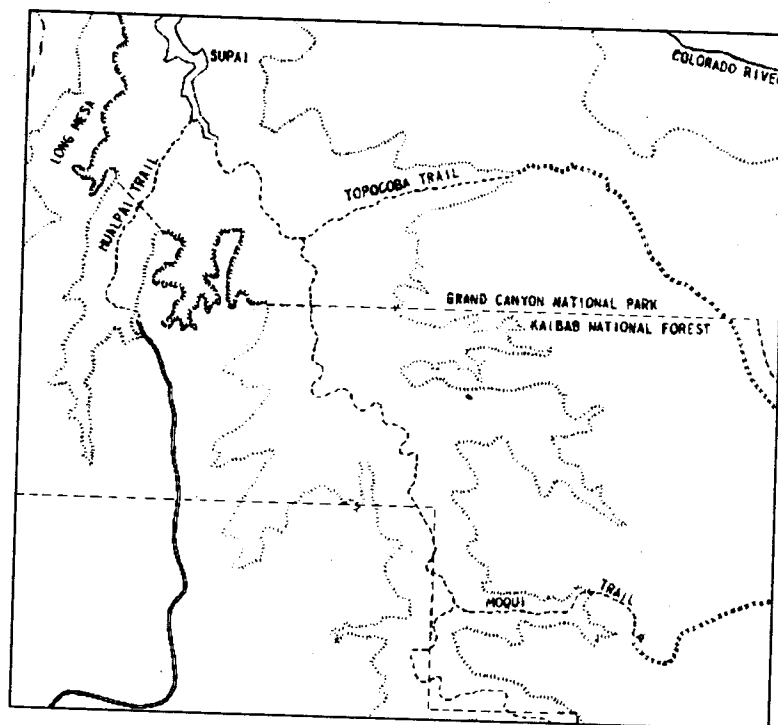


Figure 28. Route of Moqui Trail where it descends into Cataract Canyon. Adapted from Casanova (1967:Figure 1).

Research of Hopi Trails by the Museum of Northern Arizona

In the 1940s and 1950s, Katherine Bartlett and Harold S. Colton of the Museum of Northern Arizona conducted research to delineate the Hopi trail network. Bartlett astutely observed that Hopi trails were probably the same for generations, adding a caveat, however, that there were probably many variant routes. She pointed out, "We know that over so much of this country you can go anywhere, and as long as they found water, that was all they needed" (Bartlett 1942b). Therefore, to map Hopi trails, Bartlett analyzed information from historic sources, ethnography, and hydrogeography. Her depiction of Hopi trails in the Grand Canyon region is illustrated in Figure 29.

Much of the focus of Bartlett's research was directed towards reconstructing the routes taken by Spanish explorers in the sixteenth century. In this regard, Bartlett and others (1995:38) noted, "When considering the routes used by the Spaniards, we must remember several things. First, that the country was not overgrazed as it is today, and that many of the dry washes we know were probably gently flowing streams lined with cottonwoods and filled with beaver dams. If not flowing on the surface, water could be found by digging down into the sand." Contemporary hydrology is not always an accurate indication of past water resources.

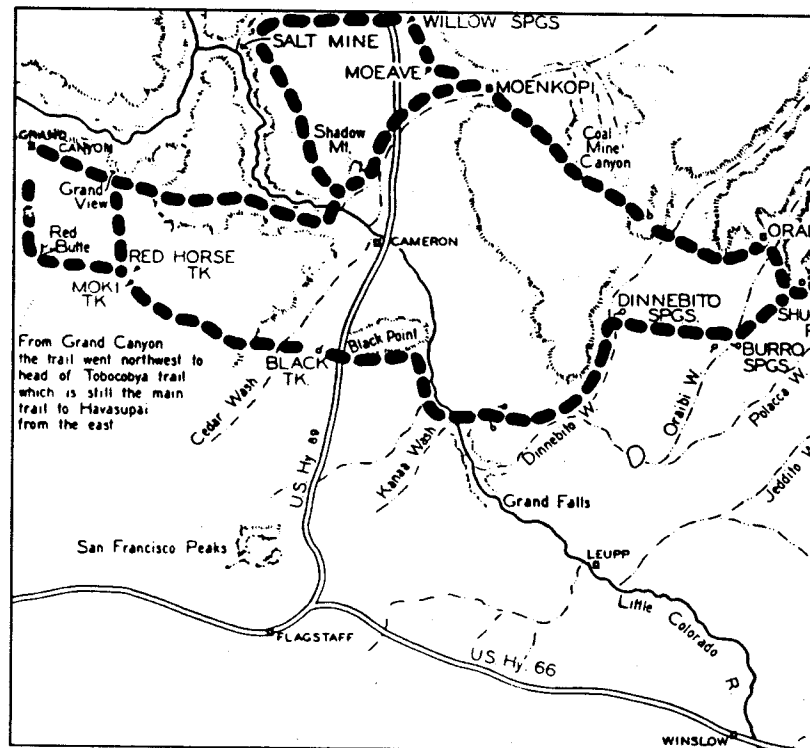


Figure 29. Portion of Bartlett's map showing "Indian Trails Between Zuni, the Hopi Towns, and the Grand Canyon." (Source: Bartlett 1940:43)

One of Bartlett's main interests was the route that Cardenas took from the Hopi Mesas to the Grand Canyon in 1540 (Figure 29). The major places along this route are listed in Table 14, along with the distance between segments where that information was provided (Bartlett et al. 1995:38).

Bartlett (1940:37-45) suggested that the Spaniards returned from the Grand Canyon to Hopi via a different route from the one they traveled to get there. She mapped this as an extension from the Little Colorado River northwestward to the head of Salt Trail Canyon. It should be noted, however, that Bartlett mislocated the Hopi Salt Mine on her map, placing it near the mouth of Salt Trail Canyon rather than on the Colorado River. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 6, it is likely that the salt the Spaniards collected on their return to Hopi was obtained elsewhere along the Little Colorado River and not from the Hopi Salt Mine.

Colton was more interested in mapping historic trails used by the Hopi rather than the Spaniards. He described two trails leading from the Hopi Mesas to the Havasupai villages within Cataract Canyon of the Grand Canyon (Colton 1964:91-92). One of these trails left the Hopi Mesas near Hotevilla, crossed the Dennebito Valley, Howell Mesa, and the Moenkopi Wash and then went to the Hopi gardens at Moenkopi. This trail continued to Moenave, and then to the southwest around the east flank of Shadow Mountain to the head of the Hopi Trail Canyon. The trail then went down the canyon to the Little Colorado River. Colton noted that a landslide a few centuries ago blocked the channel of the river just below where the Hopi Trail Canyon joins the Little Colorado River. While most of the rock has been washed away, the trail is still a hard rock crossing. On the west side of the river, the trail switchbacked up the canyon wall and headed west through the Coconino Basin to Supai. This trail thus runs about a distance of 150 miles. Colton thought this was the trail followed by Father Garces in 1776.

Table 14

Route of Trail from Hopi Mesas to the Grand Canyon as Mapped by Bartlett

<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>	<i>Distance (mi)</i>
Shungopavi	SW to Burro Springs	12
Burro Sp.	W past Masipa Sp. to Dinnebito Sp.	15
Dinnebito Sp.	W past springs to the Little Colorado River at mouth of Grand Falls; cross Little Colorado River about Kana-a Wash	10.5
Kana-a Wash	N along the river in Wupatki Basin to Black Point	7.5
Black Point	W along south side of Black Point to natural tank	14
Tank	W to Cedar Wash	6
Cedar Wash	NW through Little Colorado River monocline to Moki Tank or Red Horse Tank	18
Moki Tank	W to Red Butte	-
Red Butte	NW to a tank called Bear Sp. (Hopi)	-
Bear Sp.	to present Grand Canyon Village	-
Grand Canyon	NW back from canyon rim to head of Tobocobya Trail, principal trail down into Cataract Canyon	-

A second trail to the Havasupai followed the Dennebito Valley and crossed the Little Colorado opposite Black Point (Colton 1964:92). It then switchbacked up the talus slope of Black Point to the mesa top. Colton says there is a Hopi shrine at this point. The trail then heads westerly, climbing up

the monocline to the juniper forest. The trail then heads northwesterly, passing the Moqui Tanks to a point several miles above the spring that feeds Cataract Creek. The trail then goes down the canyon to Supai. This trail traverses a distance of about 140 miles. Colton thought this was the trail followed by Cushing during his trip to the Havasupai in 1881.

Summary

Figure 30 presents a schematic map of the major trails connecting the Hopi villages with the *Neneqpi Wunasivu*, *Öngtupqa*, and *Sakwatupka* areas of the Grand Canyon. From Oraibi, the Salt Trail headed northwest to Moenkopi and then continued on to *Öngtupqa*.

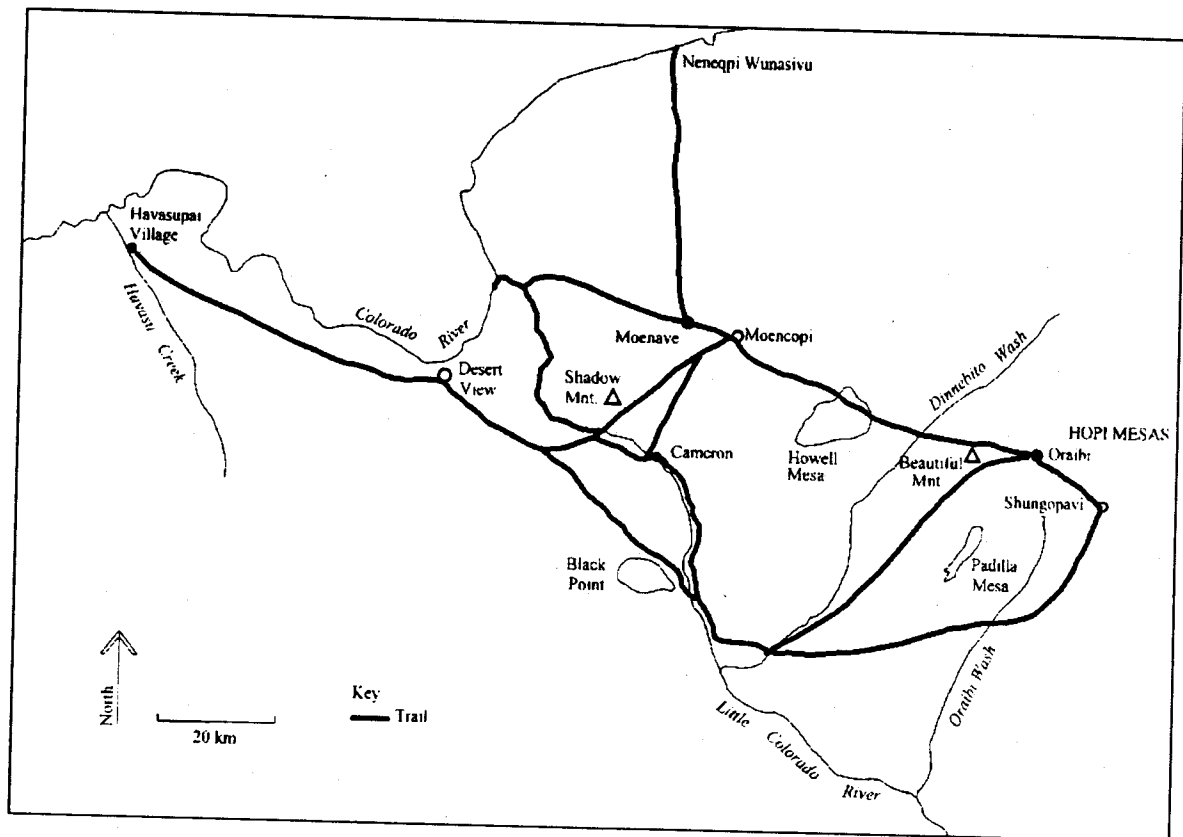


Figure 30. Schematic map of the major routes in the Hopi trail network near the Grand Canyon.

At Moenkopi, a branch of the trail headed southwestward to the Little Colorado River. This trail forked, with one branch crossing the river near Cameron, Arizona and the other crossing slightly further north in the vicinity of Shadow Mountain (Fewkes 1906:352-353; Bartlett 1940:43; Colton 1964:91-93; USGS 1886). From either of these forks, the Hopi could have continued on to south rim of the Grand Canyon near Desert View, although the crossing at Shadow Mountain would have provided a more direct route. From Desert View, the trail continued westward to *Sakwatupka* (Cataract Canyon), where the Havasupai reside.

Another set of trails connected Oraibi and Shungopavi with the Little Colorado River to the southwest of the Hopi Mesas. One of these trails departed Oraibi, passed south of Beautiful Mountain, and headed southwest to Sand Spring in the Dinnebito Wash. A cultural advisor from Shungopavi referred to this portion of the trail as the Coronaski trail—a Hopi name derived from Coronado, the leader of the first Spanish entrada.²⁹⁶ From here, the trail led to the Little Colorado River, meeting it at a point slightly northeast from the Wupatki ruins. At the river, this trail forked, with one portion traveling through the Little Colorado River Valley to reconnect with the northern trails. The other fork climbed out onto the plateau and traveled a north-northwest diagonal to Desert View (Bartlett 1940:43; Colton 1964:91-93; USGS 1886). A second trail departed from Shungopavi and intersected Burro Spring before reconnecting with the Coronaski Trail at the Dinnebito Wash.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER TRIBES IN THE GRAND CANYON REGION

The Hopi trail network connected the Hopi with other tribes living in the Grand Canyon region. Hopis and other Indians in the region traveled frequently over these trails to visit one another for purposes of trade and political discourse. This social interaction led to occasional intermarriage between the members of different tribes.

The Hopi participated in a large regional trading network that entailed the shipment of many goods, including bison, deer skins, turquoise, fibrolite, cotton and cotton products, pottery, shell, coral, mineral pigments, semiprecious jewels, parrot feathers and birds, metal objects, and salt (Riley 1987:190-208). As Riley (1987:195) described, in the late prehistoric and early historic eras Hopi had an important role in this system.

The Tusayan towns dominated the trade route from the upper Southwest to the Verde area and to the lower Colorado River area. Tusayan supplied Cibola, and through Cibola the rest of the upper Southwest and the Gila-Salt and Sonoran regions, with Verde Valley area pigments, and, at least the upper Southwest, with Gulf of California and California Pacific Coast shell.

The Hopi renown as traders continued into the nineteenth century. W. C. Powell, for instance, reported in 1873 that he met a Hopi who had traveled widely to trade, and who spoke 5 or 6 languages (Powell 1948:488).

Ko'ninam (Havasupai)

Schroeder (1953:45) noted that throughout much of their history, the Havasupai have been known variously as Coninas, Coconinos, Cominas, etc., "... all of which are variations of the Hopi term, Kohnina or Kohonino. There are many historical references to trade between the Hopi and Havasupai.

In 1692, Vargas documented seeing Coninas at Walpi. In 1752 Fray Menchero stated the Coninas sent fruit to Spaniards visiting in the region through an Indian visiting relatives in the Hopi country. In 1776, Padres Garcés visited the Havasupai in Cataract Canyon, recording that they were

²⁹⁶ Valjean Joshevama in Gail Lotenberg, Field Notes for August 26, 1992 (involving Valjean Joshevama, Eric Polingyouma, Lee Wayne Lomayestewa, and T. J. Ferguson). Unpublished ms. on file, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmobi, AZ.

well supplied with red cloth, iron tools, cows, and horses from the Spanish settlements in New Mexico, obtained through trade with the Hopi (Spier 1928:244-245; Casanova 1967:124). Two Hopis arrived at the Havasuapi village to trade at the time Garcés visited. In 1780, Anza reported Hopis were taking refuge among the Coninas. In 1744, Fray Delgado located the Navajos east of the Hopi villages, four days travel from Jemez Pueblo in New Mexico. Escalante stated in 1775 that the Hopi country was bounded by the "Cosninas" on the west and northwest, the Mescalero (Yavapai) on the southwest, and the Navajo and Zuni on the east. Havasupai camps on Moenkopi Wash provided a trading station easily accessible by members of both tribes.

At Havasupai in 1881, Cushing (1965:56) observed that "Earthen pots and brass kettles, procured by barter with the Moquis, serve as cooking vessels. Moqui bowls and native baskets are used in serving food ..." Cushing (1965:59) also found a Hopi woman living with the Havasupai, and noted that since Havasupai men outnumbered women, there was thus some intermarriage with other tribes.

Cushing noted the Havasupai were hunters, and described their participation in a regional trade network that extended thought the Southwest. As explained by Cushing (1965:63), the Havasupai were,

... justly famous for the quantity, fineness, and quality of their buckskins, which are smooth, soft, white as snow, yet thick and durable. These buckskins, manufactured into bags, pouches, coats, and leggings, or as raw material, are valued by other Indian tribes, even as far east as the Rio Grande ... All of this material is bartered with the Pueblos for blankets and various products of civilization, the former being again traded to the Hua-la-pai for red and black paints, undressed buckskins, and mountain-lion robes. Their red paint, ochre of the finest quality, has ... celebrity among Indian tribes ...

In addition to buckskin, the Hasvasupai traded antelope and mountain sheep skins, shirts and leggings made from tanned hides, mescal, pinyon nuts, baskets, horn ladles, a red face paint called *suta*, a green paint for katsina, a blue pigment called *sakwa*, sweet agave, and seed corn (Hough n.d.b, 1915:25-26; Curtis 1922:30; Spier 1928:244; Beaglehole 1937:84; Colton 1960:86; Euler and Dobyns 1971:32; Euler 1988:6-7; Kennard 1979:559). The Havasuapai traded these products with the Hopi to obtain loom products such as blankets, knit leggings, and sashes, silverwork, Hopi pottery for storage vessels, stone and shell beads, axes, bridles, saddles, buffalo skins, corn, beans, and peaches.

Colton (1941:308-309) described the historic trade network that connected the Hopi, Havasupai, and other tribes in the Southwest,

... the Walapai Indians killed deer or mountain sheep and traded the hides to the Havasupai, for woven goods procured from the Hopi. The Havasupai in their homes tanned the hide and traded it to the Hopi for woven goods and pottery. The Hopi manufactured the buckskin into white boots for the women or traded the hides or boots to Zuni or Rio Grande pueblos, receiving in return turquoise from Santo Domingo, Mexican indigo from Isleta and buffalo skins from the plains.

Based on data collected in the early twentieth century, Spier (1928:245) reconstructed the rates of exchange for tradegoods in the period from 1840-1865. At that time, a large buckskin was worth a large blanket, seven or eight buckskins were worth a horse, and ten buckskins were worth a race

horse. The Havasupai used many of the items they obtained from Hopi in further trade with the Hualapai and other tribes in the region. According to information collected by Beaglehole (1937:85), "The rates of exchange for Hopi blankets were as follows: a large bed-size blanket for two larger buckskins and one other small skin, a small saddle blanket for one small buckskin, a white wedding blanket with red stripes for a shell necklace, a blanket similar to the last for a (five pound) sack full of red ochre."

Sometimes Hopis visiting the Havasupai would collect natural resources as well as engage in trading. In the late nineteenth century, Stephen (1936:638) noted that grass, wood, and clay were brought from Cataract Cañon for use at First Mesa. He also describes the use of clay nodules brought from Cataract Cañon to First Mesa by the Havasupai. The Hopi used these nodules in the preparation of altar sand paintings (Stephen 1936:668). Stephen (1936:996) also described a trading visit four Hopis made to the *Ko'honino* (Havasupai) in the late nineteenth century.

In describing trade with Havasupai, Hough (1898:138) observed that the Hopi would travel to Cataract Canyon. He wrote,

These journeys are common, for the Moki is no stay-at-home, but roams far beyond the wildest view from the high vantage ground of his village, visiting the former seats of his people of by-gone centuries. Thus he knows the flora and fauna over a wide region, and is as much at home in the White mountains as on the Great Colorado. In former times he may have journeyed to the Gulf of California for precious sea-shells ... or made long quests for the much-prized turquoise, just as he now goes to the Coconino canyon for baskets or deerskins.

Spier (1928:246-247) described a trip that Sinyella, a Havasuapi, made to Hopi in the nineteenth century. While Sinyella's account provides an example of a casual visit to the Hopi for the purpose of trade, it is clear that economic gain was not the primary interest of the visit.

When I [Sinyella] was four feet high the Yavapai liked to come to this place to fight; they killed so many every time. My relatives were afraid on this account and they wanted to go to stay at Oraibi where there were many men. So we went and there I played with Hopi boys and learned the Hopi language.

This was the very first time I made a trip to Oraibi. We started from the village to go up by *Tovôkyôva* [the dry bed of a waterfall, Lee Canyon] and camped in a little cave nearly at the plateau ... At that time we did not have many horses to ride; perhaps our family had only one. We just kept walking along. I do not remember exactly where we camped. I know we camped above Dripping Springs [west of Grand Canyon Station], where we stayed two nights. Then we set off again and got to Long Jim Canyon [east of the station], where there are big caves in which we camped one night. Next day we got to *Hagâfluvád* [Hance's Ranch, east of Grand View] and the next day we camped at *l'i'mâ'hwa'âhá* [Deer Tank, to the north of Coconino Basin]. The next morning we went on down to the bench above ... [Little Colorado River] and along it up the canyon. We stopped that night at *Tatâ'âhá*, where we found a lot of Paiute. We stayed with them for two or three sleeps. Then one morning we continued up along the bench to its end [?] where the Navaho Bridge is now; we went up a little further and crossed the Little Colorado. We climbed up on the red bench on the other side and camped at ... (red pinnacles). Next morning we went up the slope toward the east. When on top we made pretty good time traveling and got close

to Oraibi. This camp was at K'eyúdíga (gulch). Next morning we went on and reached Oraibi about midday.

All the Hopi came out to see us. They said in their language, "It is very good to bring the women and children with you. We are glad to see you. " We went into Oraibi and each of our families took up quarters with friendly Hopi. The Hopi said, "It was pretty good of you people to come to see us. Do not go away soon; stay with us along time. That is what we like." I think it was about harvest time; the Hopi were gathering their corn. The Hopi wanted the Havasupai to go with them and gather their corn; so they did so. I was a little boy and I played about with the Hopi boys.

We stayed at Oraibi a long time: I think, until it snowed. When it was very cold, we started back ... Again we moved back across the Little Colorado, but not by the same road; this time a considerable distance above ...

In a discussion of warfare, Spier (1928:248) noted that the Havasupai were politically aligned with the Hopi of Oraibi and the Hualapai. Oraibi figures in Havasupai traditional history as a "sort of neutralized trading station." In the nineteenth century, the Havasupai were subject to attack by Navajos when traveling back from trading at Oraibi. As Spier (1928:375-380) records, the Havasupais eventually attained peaceful relations with other tribes in the region with the involvement of the Hopi of Oraibi.

According to Beaglehole (1937:85),

Anciently, according to informants, the Hopi always visited the Havasupai and Walapai as a side expedition to other journeys made to the Colorado River shrines or salt mines. When these journeys to the Colorado grew rare, the Havasupai came more frequently to the Hopi villages, and Oraibi became a meeting place for Havasupai and Hopi traders.

The Havasupai traditionally collected salt from the Hopi Salt Mine (Euler 1965:6), and it is probable that they used the Tanner Trail to descend from the Rim to the Colorado River (Davis 1956:3).

According to Hopi cultural advisors, the Hopi name for the Hualapai and Havasupai is *Ko'nina*.²⁹⁷ The "near Pais" or Havasupai are named for the blue water in Havasu Creek. *Sakwa* is the Hopi word for blue, so *Sakwako'nina* refers to the Havasupai.

There is still a strong oral tradition at Hopi about trade with the Havasupai.²⁹⁸ In the 1960s, Numkena (1967:2-3) recalled the Hopi's tradition of trading with the "Go-in-ne-nas," saying, "they were from the Grand Canyon area called the Supais and Hualapais ..." He recalled that the Hopi traded agricultural products for baskets. Today, cultural advisors from Moenkopi recall that the Havasupai used the Salt Trail to travel to Oraibi via Moenkopi for trade, with deerskins being

²⁹⁷ Gilbert Naseyouma in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 33-37.

²⁹⁸ Leigh Jenkins interview, August 26, 1992, p. 10.

exchanged for figs, and flour for dried peaches and blankets.²⁹⁹ A cultural advisor from Shungopavi noted that the Hopi introduced peaches to the Havasupais. He reported there are still fruit trees in Cataract Canyon that were obtained from the Hopi.³⁰⁰

Many Hopi cultural advisors discussed the *suta*, or red pigment, the Hopis still obtain through trade with the Havasupai.³⁰¹ This is a culturally valuable pigment, and even today, two teaspoons of *suta* sometimes costs as much as \$2.00.

In addition to trade, the Hopis sometimes sought refuge with the Havasupai during droughts or epidemics of disease. As a cultural advisor from Bacavi recalled,³⁰²

... during the times of famine and drought that is also contained in Hopi memory, Hopis sought refuge ... among those people, because of the abundance of water down there. And, even as late as the 1800s, the last epidemic of smallpox that hit the Hopi country, there were some families who went into Supai for awhile ... The way that my grandmother, my paternal grandmother describes the events in Oraibi was that it was terrible. I mean, disease was rampant ... And ... some families did seek refuge into the Supai area from Oraibi.

The trade, intermarriage, and periods of co-residence between the Havasupai and Hopi led to close cultural relations between the two tribes. The Havasupai regularly came along the Moqui Trail to Hopi in the fall, bringing trade goods. They would live in the Hopi villages for awhile, helping to bring in the harvest. Some of the Havasupai were given Hopi names. Hopis made reciprocal trading visits to the Havasupai village in Cataract Canyon. In honor of this relationship, there are number of Hopi *katsina* song compositions that use the term "*Sakwatupka*" (Blue Canyon), and that describe the canyon where the Havasupai live.³⁰³

²⁹⁹ Orville Hongeva and Gilbert Naseyouma interview, August 28, 1992, p. 2.

³⁰⁰ Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991, p. 1.

³⁰¹ Dalton Taylor in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, April 23, 1991, p. 2.

Abbott Sekaquaptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, June 13, 1991, p. 5.

Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, p. 13.

Gilbert Naseyouma in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 33-37.

³⁰² Leigh Jenkins interview, August 26, 1992, p. 11.

³⁰³ Notes of T. J. Ferguson from interview with Abbott Sekaquaptewa, January 28, 1992, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 2. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, January 28, 1992.]

Lloyd Ami interview, June 2, 1993, p. 9.

Yavaqwo'nina (Hualapai)

The Hopi name for the Hualapai Indians is *Yavaqwo'nina* ("Far Away *Kohonina*").³⁰⁴ Scholars have written less about the Hopi interaction with the Hualapai than they have about Hopi interaction with the Havasupai. What is known, however, suggests the Hopi enjoyed similar, good relations with both tribes.

Spier (1928:244-245) noted that in 1776 Garcés found Hopi shirts and Spanish articles at Hualapai, where there was a Hopi couple returning to Hopi via a direct route across Cataract Canyon. In subsequent historical periods, the Hualapai also traded directly with the Hopi of Oraibi (Spier 1928:246).

In the twentieth century, Edmund Nequatewa (Seaman 1993:9) described a stew bowl that his mother had gotten from the "... Walapai people who live near the Grand Canyon ...". In describing trade, Helen Sekaquaptewa (1969:57) noted that "During the spring there was always traffic in commodities between tribes within a reasonable radius." She specifically mentioned traders from Hualapai, as well as Utah, Zuni, Taos and other New Mexico pueblos, who came to Hopi to trade for Hopi textiles and produce.

One Hopi cultural advisor from Mishongnovi recollected that the Hopi traded *piiki* and salt with the Hualapai in exchange for buckskin, *suta*, and agave bread.³⁰⁵

Yotse'em niqw Payotsim (Utes and Paiutes)

The traditional history of the Paiutes indicates they have had a long history of interaction with the Hopi and their ancestors. Prior to migrating to the Hopi Mesas, some of the ancestors of the Hopi lived in southern Utah in areas now occupied by the Utes and Paiutes.

Pendergast and Meighan (1959) used information from 4 Paiute informants to analyze Paiute historical traditions related to prehistoric Puebloan archaeological sites in southern Utah. They noted that the Paiutes called the prehistoric occupants of Puebloan archaeological sites "*Mukwitch*." Pendergast and Meighan (1959:129) documented that, "Two informants stated that the *Mukwitch* had lived all over the Southwest; one specifically stated that the so-called 'Moki houses' (adobe granaries known archaeologically in eastern Utah) had belonged to the *Mukwitch*."

According to Pendergast and Meighan (1959:129), "All informants said that the *Mukwitch* abandoned their towns and went south to the Hopi country." Pendergast and Meighan add, "The word *Mukwitch* is also used by all Paiutes to refer to the modern Hopi, a fact which indicates that the Paiute view the Hopi as somehow related to the Puebloid groups formerly occupying southern Utah." Pendergast and Meighan (1959:128-131) found that aspects of Paiute accounts of *Mukwitch* migration, economy, physical appearance, and Paiute-*Mukwitch* relationships are all supported by conventional interpretations of the archaeological record. They concluded that the Paiutes consider information about the *Mukwitch* to be historical fact rather than a myth.

³⁰⁴ Hopi cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 33-37.

³⁰⁵ Owen Numkena in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 33-37.

Hough (1915:26) pointed out that although the Hopi and Paiutes are "remotely related," historically they did not always have friendly relations. Sometimes the Paiutes raided Hopi villages. At other times, the two tribes traded with each other. Numkena (1967:2-3), for instance, recalled trade between the Hopi and the Paiutes, saying agricultural products were traded for many of the same items that the Hopi traded with the Supais for.

A Hopi cultural advisor from Bacavi discussed the Hopi Bow and Greasewood clan migrations with respect to the Utes and Paiutes.³⁰⁶

So our traditions say we encountered the Utes. We encountered the Utes and some of the Paiute people up there. And we began to be closely allied with those people. We were ... trading a lot with those people. And the Shoshonean people we also encountered up there ... So in our traditions because we stayed for some time up in Utah, and became very close with the Ute people, today in Oraibi tradition they call us the *Yotse'e* (Utes) in jest.

As a matter of fact, we even have some Ute history that we remember today ... So my oldest daughter is called *Sonwy*, you know, it literally means "beautiful." It means "pretty," "beautiful." But, to name a person, the namer has to reiterate a story of clan tradition. And my mother said that our tradition goes up north. Our tradition says that we were friends with the Ute people, and we know, as in any culture, she says, even among the Utes, there were pretty girls. And so because of that history, I'm going to call you *Sonwy*, meaning, literally, pretty. But it really means "pretty Ute girl ..."

Tasavu (Navajos)

When the Navajo migrated into the northeastern region of the American Southwest, probably in the late 1400s or early 1500s, they originally settled in Dinétah, an area far to the east of the Hopi Mesas. Under military pressure from Utes, Comanches, and Spaniards, the Navajo were forced to abandon Dinétah, and they moved to Mt. Taylor, the Chuska Mountains, and Canyon de Chelly (Whiteley 1989b:3-4). As late as 1744, Spaniards reported that the Navajo were situated east of the Hopi villages, four days travel from Jemez Pueblo in New Mexico (Schroeder 1953:45). Reports of Navajo raiding Hopi villages began in the 1770s but at this time the Navajo still lived in the area to the east of the Hopi Mesas. The earliest report of Navajo living at Black Mesa is in 1819 (Whiteley 1989a:2-3). Spier (1928:362-368) recorded Havasupai traditional history about the coming of the Navajo to the area immediately around the Grand Canyon, which they said occurred in the 1860s when the Navajo were taking refuge from the attempt to incarcerate them at Bosque Redondo.

Once the Navajo established themselves in the area between the Hopi Mesas and the Grand Canyon, the Hopi had to contend with protecting their salt expeditions to *Öngtupqa*. The presence of other tribes in the region that were also occasionally belligerent towards the Hopi, such as the Paiutes, reinforced the need to send out salt expeditions comprised of large groups of men accompanied by War Chiefs (Titiev 1937:234; Winslowe 1969:29). After the United States pacified the region in the late nineteenth century, the need for large salt expeditions diminished.

³⁰⁶ Leigh Jenkins interview, August 26, 1992, pp. 5-6.

The social and political relationships between the Hopi and the Navajo have a complex history characterized by trading and cooperation, as well as warfare and raiding (Ford 1983; Whiteley 1989b; Seaman 1993:171-174; Hopi Tribe n.d., 1979). With respect to Hopi use of the Grand Canyon, however, the Navajos have had little impact on the Hopi other than posing a threat to salt expeditions during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Today, the Navajo Nation potentially has a larger affect on Hopi use of the Grand Canyon because Congress (48 Stat. 960-962) and the Federal courts have awarded ownership of long disputed land along the route of the Salt Trail in the Little Colorado River to the Navajo Nation. This disputed area includes the *Sipapuni*. The Hopi Tribe appealed the court's decision in 1995, and at the present time the issues have yet to be resolved.

Siot (Zuni)

The Hopi have long been trading partners with the Zuni and the historical record is replete with documentation about trading and ceremonial visits between the two tribes (Ferguson et al 1995). While Hopis often stopped by Zuni Pueblo during pilgrimages to Zuni Salt Lake, there is no historical evidence to suggest that Zuni ever stopped at Hopi on their way to the Grand Canyon. The Hopi recognize that the Zuni emerged from the Grand Canyon but believe it was from a different *Sipapuni* than that used by the Hopi (Stephen 1936:1167; Voth 1905:18). Hopi and Zuni use of the Grand Canyon was for complementary religious purposes and the two tribes have historically respected each other's use.

CONTINUING SIGNIFICANCE AND USE OF GRAND CANYON BY HOPIS

One scholar recently claimed the Hopi no longer use the Salt Trail, stating "the Hopis haven't cared about this trail. All those journeys to the mines ended in 1909" (Ekkehart Malotki quoted in Shaffer 1990:38). The proposed publication of this scholar's research became a matter of some controversy, in part because the Hopis felt it was blasphemous and infringed on their right of religious privacy, and in part because the Hopi Tribe maintains the work contains serious errors of historical fact (Drouin 1994; O'Connell 1990:1,4; Quartaroli 1990; Raymond 1990; Thure 1991; Whiteley 1993:140; Clemmer 1995:284).

The claim Hopis have not used the Salt Trail since 1909 has been criticized by people who know that some Hopis have used the Salt Trail in recent years. One non-Indian trader who resides on the Hopi Indian Reservation, for instance, wrote to the editor of the Flagstaff newspaper to say (Day 1990:6),

Malotki's contention that he re-discovered the trail and that ... "The Hopis haven't cared about this trail. All those journeys to the mines came to an end in 1909," ... is laughable. I personally know of at least four trips made by Hopis during the last 20 years including trips made by villagers from Shungopavi, who, according to Malotki, have never used the trail.

In addition, the first Anglo to discover the trail and related sites was not Malotki but Vernon Taylor of Prescott College, who, rather than publish his findings for personal gain, chose instead to work with the Hopi people and the National Park Service during the 1960s to protect these sites.

The information collected for the GCES project and presented in this chapter documents that (1) the Hopi went on a number of "Salt Pilgrimages" associated with Tribal Initiation rituals after 1909, and (2) Hopi religious leaders continue to use the Grand Canyon for ritual activities. The

assertion that the Hopi do not care about the "Salt Trail," the Hopi Salt Mine, or *Öngtupqa* is simply not accurate. The Hopi care deeply about *Öngtupqa* and its associated shrines. The area is considered so sacred by contemporary Hopi that casual visitation is not condoned.³⁰⁷ This means that only a few Hopi men have visited *Öngtupqa* in recent years. Furthermore, due to the esoteric nature of their ritual activities, those men who do continue to make pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* are reluctant to divulge information about this use to non-Indians.

The contemporary political context contributes to the difficulty in Hopi use of the pilgrimage trail. Although the Hopis are no longer subjected to physical attack by hostile tribes, the fact that the Salt Trail runs through what is now the Navajo Indian Reservation makes its use more difficult.³⁰⁸ Nonetheless, ritual visits for purposes other than the salt pilgrimage have occurred as recently as the 1980s (Ahlstrom et al 1993:82-83).

There is still a strong traditional history about *Öngtupqa* in the Hopi villages. The place names associated with the Grand Canyon and the trails leading there are still discussed and their geographical features are described. Many Hopi men know what places are in the Grand Canyon even if they haven't been there themselves.³⁰⁹ The traditional chief of Oraibi still has religious responsibility for the land from *Neneqpi Wunasivu* (Lees Ferry) to *Öngtupqa*.³¹⁰

When the issue of whether or not the Hopi continue to use the Grand Canyon was discussed, many cultural advisors pointed out that the Hopi still make and offer *paaho* and prayers to the shrines in *Öngtupqa* during the Soyal ceremony in December, and at other times, such as the *homvi'kya* (pilgrimage) that pays homage to *Hopitutskwa*.³¹¹ From the Hopi perspective, these ritual activities

³⁰⁷ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 15.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June, 19, 1991, pp. 14-15.

Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 10.

Frank Mofsie in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from Meeting of Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, March 14, 1991, Hopi Cultural Center, Second Mesa, Arizona, p. 7. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, March 14, 1991.]

Esther Talayumptewa and Karen Shupla interview, August 1, 1991, p. 2.

³⁰⁸ Abbott Sekaquaptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes Taken during a Meeting between the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team and the National Park Service at the Grand Canyon, July 11, 1991. Ms. on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, AZ. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, July 11, 1991.]

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 18.

³⁰⁹ Orville Hongeva and Gilbert Naseyouma interview, July 7, 1993, p. 2.

Hopi cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 17.

³¹⁰ Alton Honanhi interview, July 21, 1991, p. 17.

³¹¹ Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1991, p. 17.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 7, 20-21.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, p. 31.

constitute an important and on-going spiritual use of the Grand Canyon. The prayers offered during rituals are transported to shrines in *Öngtupqa* so these shrines have not been forgotten. The shrines within *Öngtupqa* are honored by the prayer offerings made at shrines at the Hopi villages, and at shrines located on the canyon rim. The Grand Canyon is still used in Hopi kivas, and the Water Clan still deposits prayer feathers in the Colorado River. The rituals and prayer offerings related to the Grand Canyon help the Hopi obtain the rain and harmony needed to continue their way of life.

As a cultural advisor from Hotevilla said,³¹²

We make all the prayer sticks from the Sipapuni, from the salt mine and places where they usually leave their prayers when they go down and come back. On our ceremonial in the winter time, we do the same thing. We think way back to from where we came up and we start making the *paaho* all the way back to that and where we are right now. It is very important to us ... All these things should be protected.

We do that every year. Every winter we have to do that. Not just any other time ... We think back to that place. We do not walk it but we are praying to do the same thing for the places. It has been named from down there, all the way back over to the villages. It is all in the prayers ... Along the salt trail, from Oraibi on, all the way down to the canyon.

In explaining Hopi concepts of "religious use," a cultural advisor from Oraibi explained that, "Actual use may be day to day use, as business or grazing, and other spiritual use — as we Hopi use many areas in our ceremonies, also gathering of materials, minerals, animals, and birds we use in our

LaVern Siweumtewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991, p. 2.

Dalton Taylor interview, November 13, 1991, p. 1.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 10.

Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991, pp. 1-2.

Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quavema, and Cedric Kewaninveya interview, July 15, 1991, p. 2.

Simon Polingyumtewa and Valjean Joshevama in Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, CRATT Meeting of July 17, 1991, p. 49.

Frank Mofsie in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, July 17, 1991, p. 29.

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 2.

Harold Polingyumtewa interview, September 30, 1991, p. 3.

Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 8.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 30.

Bert Puhuyesva in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, August 26, 1992, p. 6.

Ben Nuvamsa interview, July 22, 1993, p. 2.

Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 29-30.

³¹² Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 20-21.

religious ceremonies. We refer to these as use; it may not be a day to day affair."³¹³ This advisor further explained that, "Spiritual use, and use through prayers, are important Hopi concepts which remain strong in our lives ... Any sacred sites, locations, trails, etc. will forever remain important to the Hopi. Those are part of our history and in our prayer. We recognize the importance of those which established our identity."³¹⁴

Non-Indian social scientists use a concept of "passive use" to refer to values about the Grand Canyon that are not based in direct, physical use. The Hopi concept of spiritual use is similar to passive use but entails a more significant cultural meaning. Many Hopis who themselves don't travel into the Grand Canyon still maintain that it holds great cultural and spiritual significance for them.³¹⁵ One cultural advisor from Shungopavi explained this by saying, "I think our spiritual trails and our spiritual communications down there are just as important as having physical trails down there or ... making your physical presence down there."³¹⁶ Another advisor from Shungopavi explained that, "Although ... not many people make those pilgrimages there every year that doesn't take away from importance of the shrines itself."³¹⁷

According to cultural advisors from Mishongnovi, "The Grand Canyon salt trail is not used frequently but it cannot be forgotten. The sacredness of the trail is important [in a way] that the white people cannot seem to understand. Prayer feathers are prepared for the canyons and its sacred places throughout the years. There may be no physical presence of the Hopi use of the trail but there is a spiritual nature and the importance of the place."³¹⁸

In explaining Hopi feelings for the Grand Canyon to non-Indians, some Hopis make an analogy between *Öngtupqa* and a church.³¹⁹ A cultural advisor from Moenkopi, for instance, said, "That whole area is considered an important place ... I would consider that a church to the Hopi people

³¹³ Eljean Joshevama interview, July 17, 1991, p. 2.

³¹⁴ Eljean Joshevama interview, July 17, 1991, p. 3.

³¹⁵ Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 33.

Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 5.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 64-65.

Walter Hamana interviews, June 20, 1991, p. 22; July 16, 1993, pp. 1-2..

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 40.

Brad Balenquah in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 56.

³¹⁶ Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, p. 32.

³¹⁷ Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 12.

³¹⁸ LaVern Siweumtewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991, p. 2.

³¹⁹ Delfred Leslie interview, December 16, 1992, p. 3.

Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, p. 10.

because that's where their originality is. They came from there and that's where we go back to. We should have complete respect."³²⁰

Hopi religious leaders are constrained in attempting to explain the importance of the Grand Canyon to non-Indians since the ultimate significance is based in esoteric knowledge that cannot be shared with uninitiated people. These men explain that *Öngtupqa* is a very sacred and holy area of great ritual and religious importance. They say there is a spiritual presence in the Grand Canyon that can be felt and experienced in various ways but the explanation of this is associated with Tribal Initiation rites and therefore can't be fully revealed.³²¹ Some Hopi cultural advisors knew of names of shrines in *Öngtupqa* but chose not to divulge this information in interviews.³²²

Hopi ancestors inhabit the Grand Canyon, and this gives *Öngtupqa* continuing cultural importance for all Hopi people.³²³ Hopi people fear the Grand Canyon because of its spiritual importance and meaning. The essence of the Hopi religion and faith is tied to the Grand Canyon and the *Sipapuni*. Through the canyon and prayer offerings, the essence of Hopi life is remembered. The very fact that the *Sipapuni* and the Grand Canyon exist with respect to ceremonial references, songs, and prayers makes them a mysterious, sacred, and powerful place for the Hopis.³²⁴ As Hopi Tribal Chairman, Ferrell Secakuku expressed it, Hopi culture and deities are reflected in the Grand Canyon.³²⁵

In the Hopi mind, the sacredness of the Grand Canyon is not diminished because Hopis rarely go there at the present time. The fact that Hopi men will collect salt when the opportunity presents itself during research projects, including the GCES project, is an indication of how the Hopi Salt Mine and *Öngtupqa* are still important to the Hopi people. Such collection of salt, however, is only done after careful consideration of the circumstances of this activity outside the ritual sanction of an initiation pilgrimage. The collection of salt is still an important cultural activity and it is only undertaken with appropriate prayers and offerings.³²⁶

³²⁰ Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 28.

³²¹ Simon Polingyumtewa interpreted by Abbott Sekaquaptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, June 13, 1991, p. 11.

³²² Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 12.

³²³ Orville Hongeva and Gilbert Naseyouma interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 1-2.

Douglas Coochwytewa, Will Mase, Nelson Honyyaktewa, and Wayne Susunkewa interview, June 25, 1991, p. 1.

Leigh Jenkins summary of cultural advisor's comments in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, December 19, 1991, pp. 2-3.

³²⁴ Emory Sekaquaptewa interview, January 14, 1992, p. 2.

³²⁵ Ferrell Secakuku in T. J. Ferguson, Notes Taken During the Joint Meeting of the Zuni and Hopi Cultural Advisory Teams, May 13, 1994, Hopi Cultural Center, Second Mesa, Arizona, p. 7. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from Zuni-Hopi CRATT Meeting, May 13, 1994.]

³²⁶ Abbott Sekaquaptewa, August 1, 1991, p. 4.

Some Hopi cultural advisors think a time will come when more Hopis will want to go to *Öngtupqa* in person to deposit their prayer feathers.³²⁷ The fact that there are currently long delays between Hopi pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* doesn't mean that the shrines in the Grand Canyon won't be visited again. What appears to non-Indians to be a demise in the physical use of shrines in the Grand Canyon may only be part of a cycle of use whose periodicity is longer than generally recognized by scholars.

The Grand Canyon as a sacred site plays an integral role in sustaining Hopi culture. Moreover, as former Hopi Tribal Chairman Vernon Masayesva explained, the Hopi's continued use of the Grand Canyon for religious activities has importance for all of mankind. As Masayesva said,³²⁸

... by sustaining the Hopi culture you sustain the world culture. Because the Hopi is not a tribe that only considers itself. In Hopi we always talk about "we," ... "we did this," "we're going to do this." It's never "I;" "I will do this." The "we" meaning everybody else throughout the planet and that's the way the Hopi practices it's religion. It's not just for itself or it's tribal members but it's to perpetuate mankind for eternity. And so that's where Hopis come from and that's why they're stewards and Grand Canyon is a very important shrine to the Hopis. So by sustaining the Hopi religion through a preservation of a sacred area you're sustaining hopefully the religions of mankind throughout the world.

³²⁷ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 13.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, p. 12.

³²⁸ Transcript of an interview of Vernon Masayesva, Chairman of the Hopi Tribe, on August 28, 1991, conducted by T. J. Ferguson at the Chairman's Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 3. Ms. on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Vernon Masayesva interview, August 28, 1991.]

CHAPTER 8

HOPÍ VALUES AND USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES IN THE GRAND CANYON AND LITTLE COLORADO RIVER

The natural resources of the Grand Canyon are highly valued in Hopi culture. The cultural significance of these natural resources is derived from (1) the inherent value of water, minerals, plants, and animals, and (2) Hopi use of specific resources.

WATER AND SPRINGS

The Hopi people place a great value on water. As a cultural advisor from Shungopavi said, "... water is the most precious resource. It is important everywhere."³²⁹ A cultural advisor from Hotevilla explained that, "Water is important ... as a basis of life."³³⁰ The significance of moisture and springs in the Hopi religion was explained by a Hopi from Bacavi, who said,³³¹

Moisture is special to Hopi ... The real spiritual essence of all of our ceremony is to have forces of nature respond to our prayers so that ... rain will come. Springs ... which of course contain water, are seen as a blessing to Hopi people and to people in general. And I suppose that ... comes from a sense that ... water is one of the essences of life ... Hopis believe that during the course of migration ... when people began ... to travel and they came into ... some very arid lands. And there was scarcity of water, so ... some clans had some ceremonies that were able to manifest in bringing rain, thunder storms, things like that ... Other clans had ceremonies with the ability to build ceremonial and ritual springs, which then began to seep and bring water. [There are] stories about clans desperate for water and then suddenly coming upon a spring. So springs are a real blessing to the survival of the Hopi people ... you always have that respect for a spring which in itself ... also has a spiritual life ...

There is a harmonious cycle of water and life at Hopi that intimately involves the Grand Canyon.³³² *Pisisvayu* (the Colorado River) is an awesome stream of water that flows through *Öngtupqa*, the abode of the Hopi ancestors. The Hopi pray to their ancestors in the Grand Canyon to return to the Hopi Mesas in the form of clouds that bring rain to crops. This rain is needed to mature the corn that the Hopi use to sustain their lives. When their lives are completed, the Hopi join their ancestors in *Öngtupqa*, where they continue to sustain their children by returning to their former home in the form of life-bringing water. The living Hopi have a responsibility to pray for the water that provides good crops and a good life. All water is thus precious, especially the water directly associated with the abode of the ancestors.

³²⁹ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 13.

³³⁰ Nat Nutongla interview, July 9, 1991, p. 14.

³³¹ Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 19.

³³² T. J. Ferguson notes from LaVern Siweumtewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991, p. 7.

The Hopi recognize that rivers and springs have historically been the source of existence for all living things in the Southwest. Since one cannot live without water, water is the most important source of life. Everything related to water, including fish, algae, and other associated lifeforms, has a religious use and cultural importance at Hopi. Hopis are taught to respect and protect all things that live in water because of their association with rain.³³³ Water itself is collected from *Pisisvayu* at *Neneqpi Wunasivu* (Lees Ferry) by the Coyote Clan of Oraibi for use in kiva ceremonies.³³⁴

For ceremonial purposes, *Paayu* (the Little Colorado River) has close ties to *Pisisvayu*.³³⁵ In part, this stems from the fact that the water that flows down the Little Colorado River drains into the Grand Canyon. The ritual significance of the Little Colorado River also derives from the Hopi ancestral villages such as Homol'ovi, that were established along *Paayu* so the Hopi could use the water in the river to grow crops. The stretch of the Little Colorado River from *Sööyapi* (Grand Falls) to the Colorado River has primary importance because of its association with *Sakwawayu* (Blue Spring), *Sipapuni*, and *Öngtupqa*.³³⁶ Water Clan leaders ritually deposit prayer feathers in *Paayu* to pay homage to it.

Springs, as well as rivers, have significance. Water from springs revitalizes life and is used a medicine.³³⁷ Each and every spring in the Grand Canyon is thus important to the Hopi people. Since time immemorial, the Hopi have collected water from the *Sipapuni* and other springs in the Grand Canyon for ritual use.³³⁸

³³³ Orville Honge in T. J. Ferguson, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 2.

³³⁴ Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 14.

³³⁵ Douglas Coochwyetewa, Will Mase, Nelson Honyaktewa, and Wayne Susunkewa interview, June 25, 1991, p. 2.

Nat Nutongla interview, July 9, 1991, p. 5.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 8.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, pp. 9-10.

Anna Silas interview, June 27, 1991, p. 1.

Water Hamana interview, July 16, 1993, p. 12.

³³⁶ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 33-34.

Paul Saukie interview, July 15, 1991, p. 2.

Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 8.

Nat Nutongla interview, July 9, 1991, p. 14.

Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991, pp. 3-4.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 14.

³³⁷ Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991, pp. 3-4.

Byron Tyma in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 12.

³³⁸ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 13.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, p. 20.

Anthropologists have long recognized the importance of springs in the Hopi religion. Hough (1906:165), for instance, observed that the Hopi consider sacred springs to be altars, and the offerings made at springs are ritual sacrifices whose essence is carried by the water issuing forth. Hough (1906:168) described the Hopi custom of procuring water for ritual use from springs at great distance from their villages. He wrote,

It is not necessary that springs held in great esteem should be located near the present villages, they may in fact be 100 miles away and the one delegated to bring "sacred water" from such a spring religiously makes the journey and returns to it with a tiny vase filled at the command of the priest who conducts the ceremonies. During a ceremony at a Hopi pueblo one may see toilworn men returning from quests to the sacred springs, bringing water, rushes, clay and other things required in the observances.

Hough (1906:168) added that,

On one occasion the writer saw a party, then 70 miles from home, going to fetch water from a spring some dozen miles farther along the trail. This custom is an important clew [sic] to the location of the former seats of the clans that inhabit the present villages; because the old though ever vital traditions prescribe for ceremonies which are perpetuations of clan observances, water from springs at which their ancestors drank. Where the inquiry is made one may learn that near the springs visited to obtain water as prescribed were the old pueblos of certain clans.

Fewkes also observed that it is common for the Hopi to procure water from springs for altar rites, and these springs are often in areas where Hopi clans formerly resided (Fewkes 1900a:592; 1900c:693-694). As Fewkes (1906:370) concluded, "In a general way every spring is supposed to be sacred and therefore a place for the deposit of prayer sticks and other offerings." More recently, Eggan (1994:15) pointed out that "Springs are sacred, being inhabited by water serpents who are mythical creatures quite separate from the ordinary snakes."

Hopi use of springs in *Öngtupqa*, including *Sakwavayu* (Blue Spring), *Sipapuni*, and *Yamtaka* (Vasey's Paradise), is associated with the occupation of this area by their ancestors. As a cultural advisor from Shungopavi observed, the springs in the Grand Canyon are sacred so Hopis collect water from them for use in ceremonies at the Hopi Mesas. As this advisor described, "When there's a Kachina ceremony going on ... they bring it to the kiva ... and ... use it in the preparation of ... sacred water ... They use that water."³³⁹ Prayer feathers are made for every direction and every spring, including all the springs in the Grand Canyon.³⁴⁰

The significance of the springs in the Grand Canyon is evident in the fact that on every GCES river trip, Hopi religious leaders collected water from Vasey's Paradise and other springs for use in religious activities.³⁴¹ The collection of this water was generally associated with ritual smoking and

³³⁹ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 33.

³⁴⁰ Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 38.

³⁴¹ T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 16-17.

T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 12.

the offering of *hooma* (prayermeal). The Hopis prayed at virtually every source of water they encountered in the Grand Canyon, throwing water into the air four times to symbolically send it back to the Hopi Mesas where it would nourish crops. One Hopi cultural advisor described the water he collected in *Öngtupqa* as "holy water," and said that he would give it to his village chief.³⁴² Another cultural advisor said he would give the water he collected to his sister for use by the Woman's Society, which uses it to purify people during cures for certain sicknesses.³⁴³

When asked about springs in the Grand Canyon, many Hopi cultural advisors said that *all* the springs in the Grand Canyon are important and need protection.³⁴⁴ A cultural advisor from Oraibi explained that the springs in the Grand Canyon are "alive" and that their continued existence is tied to the performance of Hopi rituals. He said,³⁴⁵ "The springs down there, they'll never go dry. They are alive that's why the river continuously runs. It will never dry as long as the Hopi do their pilgrimages, maybe not down at the Salt Mine, but around here in the villages. It'll never dry."

In considering the importance of springs in the Grand Canyon, a cultural advisor from Shungopavi expressed concern about the potential effect the operation of the Glen Canyon Dam may have on sacred resources. He said, "... without these waters, you know, we're going to be seeing a

T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 11.

T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 14.

³⁴² Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 4.

³⁴³ Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, p. 4.

³⁴⁴ Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 4.

Harold Polingyumtewa interview, September 30, 1991, p. 3.

Anna Silas interview, June 27, 1991, p. 2.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, pp. 18-19.

Esther Talayumtewa and Karen Shupla interview, August 1, 1991, p. 6.

Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991a, p. 13.

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 3.

Leigh Jenkins interviews, June 19, 1991, pp. 19-20; and August 26, 1991, p. 2.

Eljean Joshevama interview, July 17, 1991, p. 3.

Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 16.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 35.

Arnold Taylor interview, November 13, 1991, p. 16.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 26.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 24.

Vivian Poocha interview, August 1, 1991, p. 2.

Martin Talayumtewa interview, January 16, 1992, p. 3.

³⁴⁵ Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1993, p. 20.

lot of serious illnesses that would have a lot of effect on the health and the life of every living creature and thing on this earth." This advisor explained that the "illnesses" he is concerned about are spiritual in nature.³⁴⁶ In the Hopi world view, the springs in the Grand Canyon are related to the health of the world and all living things in it.

MINERALS

One of the reasons the Grand Canyon is important to the Hopi is that it provides salt, pigments, and other minerals used in religious ceremonies throughout the Hopi Mesas.³⁴⁷ The Hopi collect or trade for at least seven minerals that come from the Grand Canyon. These minerals have historically played an important role in the ceremonial activities and economic life of the Hopi. Hopi cultural advisors point out that vital ceremonies include the use of materials that are only available from the *Sipapuni* and the Grand Canyon, and that without these resources those ceremonies would not be possible.³⁴⁸

The Hopi have long been famous for their collection of minerals for use as pigments and dyes. In 1902, for instance, Hough wrote (Hough 1902:465),

The Hopi are assiduous collectors. A catalogue of the substances brought to their pueblos from long distances would awaken surprise, and the diverse materials gleaned from a region so unpromising in appearance would increase the wonder. Every house is a museum of the environment, with specimens from the mineral, animal, and vegetal kingdoms, and every Hopi is a repository of knowledge as to the places where minerals may be secured. Time and distance are of little thought when it comes to procuring the materials desired. For this reason the pigments and dyes, when compared with those employed by other American Indian tribes are remarkable for their number as well as the diversity of their origin. The colors range over the whole spectrum and furnish a number of shades and tints ...

Some of the most important pigments the Hopi collect come from *Öngtupqa*. As Loftin (1991:94) observed, the collection of minerals and pigments from the Grand Canyon requires one to enter the realm of the ancestors, and this must therefore be done according to Hopi ritual precepts.

Öönga (Salt)

The cultural and economic uses of salt by the Hopi have been reviewed in earlier chapters. What should be stressed here is the value of this mineral in a pre-industrial economy where commercial salt was not available. In this regard, Bartlett (1935:42) wrote,

To appreciate the value of salt in ancient times we must imagine ourselves in a world with no sugar and very little salt, the state which the Pueblos enjoyed. To them, salt

³⁴⁶ Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, pp. 19-20.

³⁴⁷ Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991, p. 2.

³⁴⁸ Emory Sekaquaptewa interview, January 14, 1992, p. 1.

Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 19.

was a great luxury, for it could only be obtained in relatively small quantities, and the further they were from the source of supply the scarcer it was. Pueblo children were given rock salt to such as we would give our children hard candy. Thus we imagine that communities that had a source of salt nearby had wealth beyond compare as far as its trading value went. Like turquoise, it was one of the things most desired by the Indians, even until recent times.

In addition to its economic value, the salt from the Hopi Salt Mine has historically played an important role in Hopi culture and religion. Salt from the Hopi Salt Mine is considered to be sacred. It is because of its continuing cultural importance that Hopi cultural advisors think this resource needs to be protected from any damage by the operation of the Glen Canyon Dam.³⁴⁹

Pavisa

Pavisa is a yellow pigment collected at the *Sipapuni* in *Öngtupqa*. It is extremely valuable in Hopi culture because there is only one source for this mineral. *Pavisa* is thus used sparingly. Cultural advisors from Shungopavi noted that only certain people are blessed by obtaining good *pavisa* when this mineral is collected, and that the collection of *pavisa* has to be in good faith so that all people can benefit from it.³⁵⁰ Prayer offerings are made before it is collected.

The Hopi use of *pavisa* was documented by Stephen (1936:473) in the late nineteenth century, who described painting of prayer sticks with a yellow pigment at First Mesa. A Hopi man named In'tiwa told Stephen this pigment was collected at a spring that bubbles perpetually in "a cavernous recess, which he calls kiva, in the bottom of the Grand Cañon near the salt deposit and Zuni si'papü." This is an obvious description of the Hopi *Sipapuni*. Stephen (1936:558) added, "The yellow pigment he now uses, In'tiwa says, comes from a deep cañon on Ko'honino plateau near the Grand Cañon, but this side, that is east from Cataract creek. There is a cavern in this deep chasm, just like a kiva; in it is a bubbling spring."

James (1903:71-72) mentioned the Hopi use of *pavisa* at the turn of the century, stating it was collected along the lower Little Colorado River, and was used to paint prayer sticks. Whiting (n.d.b:19) documented that an alternative name for the yellow pigment obtained from Grand Canyon is called *sikya'tska*.

Hopi cultural advisors note that while expeditions to *Öngtupqa* are often called "Salt Pilgrimages," the Hopis who went to the Grand Canyon collected *pavisa* and other minerals in addition to salt. As an advisor from Moenkopi said, "... the old man that's telling us about this said that they don't do down there just for salt ... they got a lot of things they bring up ... if your prayers

³⁴⁹ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 35.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 24.

Emory Sekaquaptewa interview, January 14, 1992, p. 1.

Paul Saukie interview, July 15, 1991, p. 1.

³⁵⁰ Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanavoyoma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 1.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 35-36.

are good you get most of what you go down for."³⁵¹ One of the other minerals this old man mentioned was *pavisa*.

Pavisa is still used by Hopi religious leaders to paint *paaho* (prayersticks) and *katsina*.³⁵² The use of this natural material in the offering of prayers has significant meaning in the Hopi religion.

Pavisa was collected by men from Hotevilla in the 1950s during the last pilgrimage to the Hopi Salt Mine sponsored by that village.³⁵³ More recently, *pavisa* has been collected for ritual purposes by men from Shungopavi.³⁵⁴ *Pavisa* was also collected during several GCES river trips and subsequently distributed to priests at the Hopi villages for use in rituals and ceremonies.³⁵⁵

Suta

Suta is a red hematite that occurs in several locations in the Grand Canyon. There are large hematite mines located on the Havasupai Indian Reservation and on the right side of the Colorado River at River Mile 200. *Suta* also occurs as nodules found in stream beds in the Little Colorado River and elsewhere in the Grand Canyon.

In the late nineteenth century, Stephen (1898:264) documented Hopi use of *suta*, noting that "... there is a red ochre, called cū'-ta, in constant use, and to obtain this ochre they go about 120 miles west, to the Kohonini country, close to the Grand Cañon of the Colorado ..." Stephen (1898:265) added, "The pa'-ho of the Warrior Society are painted with cū'-ta ochre, because that is

³⁵¹ Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, pp. 39-40.

³⁵² Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, p. 12.

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 4.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 23.

Eric Polingyumtewa interview, June 18, 1991, p. 11.

Paul Saukie interview, July 15, 1991, p. 1.

Leslie David in Interview with First Mesa Elders, November 11, 1991, p. 2.

Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 4.

Notes of Eric Polingyouma from interview of Martin Talayumtewa on January 16, 1992, Bacavi, Arizona, p. 4. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Martin Talayumtewa interview, January 16, 1992.]

³⁵³ Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, p. 18.

³⁵⁴ Ben Nuvamsa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, July 17, 1991, p. 11.

³⁵⁵ Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, p. 12.

Owen Numkena interview, July 3, 1994, p. 4.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from Joint Meeting of the Zuni and Hopi Cultural Advisory Teams, April 8, 1994, Zuni Tribal Building, Zuni Pueblo, New Mexico, p. 14. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, April 8, 1994.]

the warrior's color; he rubs cū'-ta over his body, blackens his face with charcoal, and sprinkles it with powdered specular iron, because this is the aspect of the twin war-gods."

Stephen collected samples of 25 Hopi ceremonial pigments, including a specimen of *suta*. These were cataloged by Hough for the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution. This catalog states (Hough 1902:469),

Ko ho ni ni cū' ta. 175684. Probably hematite ground and worked up with water. The Hopi obtain this pigment from the Kohonini country in Cataract Canyon, 110 miles west of the reservation. The color is symbolic of the northwest region. Its use is most marked in the paraphernalia of the Snake Society.

The Hopi trade with the Havasupai for *suta* is well documented, as discussed in Chapter 7. The location of the Havasupai *suta* mine is a closely guarded secret that the Havasupai don't reveal to outsiders (Colton 1960:86). With respect to the trade in *suta*, Colton (1948:125) wrote,

Probably the most interesting story of aboriginal trade is that of a curious red paint, a particularly greasy red ochre, procured by the Havasupai Indians from a cave in the Grand Canyon near the mouth of Havasupai Creek. This paint is in great demand by the Hopi and other Indians for face decoration. It is red, yet has a metallic sheen. The Hopi Indians purchase the paint from the Havasupai for five dollars a pound, write up the price, and peddle it to other Indians, even as far as the Rio Grande, for twenty-five cents a teaspoonful. This red paint is considered by the Indians of the Southwest a very superior cosmetic.

As Hopi cultural advisors pointed out, in addition to trading for *suta*, the Hopi also collect this mineral near the *Sipapuni*.³⁵⁶ *Suta* is used to paint *paaho* and for other ceremonial purposes.³⁵⁷ One of the ceremonial uses for *suta* is drawing pictographs at the offering place on the South Rim of the Grand Canyon where it overlooks the Salt Mine. Offerings are placed here during the *hom'vikya* pilgrimage to pay homage to *Hopitutskwa*.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁶ Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 29.

³⁵⁷ Martin Talayumptewa interview, January 16, 1992, p. 4.

Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, pp. 13-14.

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 4.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 22.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 20.

Interview with First Mesa Elders, November 11, 1991, p. 2.

³⁵⁸ Dalton Taylor in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, June 13, 1991, p. 16.

Saqwa

Hopi cultural advisors point out that *saqwa*, a type of blue-green copper used for a ceremonial pigment, is also obtained from the Grand Canyon.³⁵⁹ Stephen (1898:264) documented Hopi use of *saqwa* in the late nineteenth century, noting that it was obtained from the same region where the Hopis obtained *suta*. Stephen (1898:263) called this blue-green pigment "Ca-kwa-pi-ki." The paint made from this pigment is used to decorate sacred katsina masks (Stephen 1898:265).

Stephen's specimen of *saqwa* was cataloged by Hough (1902:469), who wrote,

Ca' kwa, 'green.' Copper carbonate, composed of malachite and azurite. 175690. The Hopi collect this paint 110 miles west of the reservation in Cataract Canyon. It is used for painting *Paaho*, masks, figurines, etc. Frequently found in graves in the ancient ruins.

In the 1920s, Curtis (1922:30) documented that the Hopi obtained "*Sáqa*" from the Havasupai. He identified it as a soft variety of turquoise, and said it is processed in several steps and used for a turquoise blue paint. Whiting (n.d.a:110) also documented that *saqwa* was obtained from the Havasupai in trade.

Beaglehole (1937:55-56) discussed the Hopi collection of *saqwa* at a mine in the Grand Canyon located in the vicinity of Grand View, referring to yellow ochre (*pavisa*) in addition to copper carbonate. He wrote,

Although many pigments and dyes are obtained from wild plants and clay deposits close to the mesas and are gathered when required, two, however, require expeditions to the Colorado River to be obtained and were usually collected on journeys for salt. Today special expeditions are sometimes made to get these colors, yellow ochre and copper carbonate ... quantities of copper ore are dug which, when ground down and mixed with water, make a serviceable greenish-blue pigment. Since Grand Canyon and the San Francisco Peaks passed on the journey are intimately associated with legend and katsina mythology, it is inevitable that an expedition to the Colorado partakes of something in the nature of a religious pilgrimage. Prayer feathers are deposited at appropriate shrines close to the foot of the Peaks, feathers and sacred meal are also left at a shrine in the mine after the ore is extracted (p. 56).

More recently, Ainsworth (1988:85-86) has documented the Hopi collect copper carbonate in the Grand Canyon.

³⁵⁹ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, pp. 13-14.

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 4.

Yalaha

Yalaha is a type of specular hematite or magnetite used in rituals by the Snake Society, and for other ceremonial purposes.³⁶⁰ One of the sources where the Hopi obtained this mineral was the Grand Canyon. This glittery mineral was encountered in a powdering form in the beach deposits on the left bank of the Colorado River about River Mile 73.5.³⁶¹ Several Hopi cultural advisors collected some of this mineral, leaving an offering as they did so. The source of the *yalaha* that was historically collected by the Hopi in the Grand Canyon was not identified during the GCES project.

Ru'pi

Several cultural advisors from Shungopavi mentioned that the Hopi collect *ru'pi*, a type of crystal, in the Grand Canyon.³⁶² *Ru'pi* is used in ceremonies and curing rituals. The exact source of *ru'pi* in the Grand Canyon was not identified during the GCES project.

Tuuwa

The Hopi collect *Tuuwa* or *Pisa*, sands of different colors, from the Grand Canyon.³⁶³ This sand would be collected during pilgrimages and taken back to the Hopi villages for use in Hopi ceremonies. The oral traditions of the Sand Clan of Oraibi document that its members gathered sand from beaches in the Grand Canyon for this purpose. Sand is also used in the preparation of *paaho* (prayersticks).³⁶⁴ One Hopi cultural advisor collected sand upstream from the Little Colorado River during a GCES river trip to take back to Hopi for religious use.³⁶⁵

Other Minerals Collected from the Grand Canyon

Two other references to minerals collected in the Grand Canyon were documented during GCES interviews. A cultural advisor from Hotevilla recalled that the Hopi traditionally collected a rich mineral paint called *soomba* from the Grand Canyon. When rubbed until warm, this mineral yields beads of pigment.³⁶⁶ The source where this mineral is collected was not identified.

³⁶⁰ Owen Numkena interview, July 3, 1994, p. 6.

³⁶¹ T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 43.

³⁶² Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 13.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 35-36.

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 4.

³⁶³ Milland Lomakema interview; July 8, 1991, p. 20.

Leigh Jenkins interview, May 26, 1992, p. 1.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 17.

³⁶⁴ Leslie David in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 5.

³⁶⁵ Leslie David in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 12.

³⁶⁶ Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, p. 13.

A cultural advisor from Moenkopi said a green pigment used for painting ceremonial objects is collected from a Hopi mine near *Neneqpi Wunasivu* (Lees Ferry).³⁶⁷ A geological classification of this mineral was not obtained.

UUYI (PLANTS)

During field work for this project, Hopi cultural advisors identified 77 plants with Hopi names growing in the Grand Canyon. The Hopi have long been renowned for their extensive knowledge about plants that are used for food, medicine, and ritual purposes. In 1896, for instance, Fewkes (1896b) recorded 67 plants used by the Hopi. In the 1930s, Whiting (1939:48) documented Hopi use of more than 100 plants, including 54 wild plants used for food, 47 plants used for construction and tools, 65 medicinal plants, 37 ceremonial and magical plants, and 45 plants with symbolic importance. Bartlett (1943:11) observed that the Hopi use almost every wild plant that grows in their region for food, medicine, drugs, and tools. She concluded that the detailed knowledge of plants possessed by the Hopi is indicative of the long time they have resided in the region.

In describing the Hopi's relation to their plant environment in the late nineteenth century, Hough (1897:35-36) observed,

It is true that the Hopi extend their environment by long journeys for various substances. Every berry patch for many miles around is known and visited; a journey of 200 miles or so for salt in the Grand canyon, wild tobacco from the Little Colorado, sacred water from Clear creek, or pine boughs from San Francisco mountain, the home of the snow, is thought of little moment ... The knowledge of the resources of a vast territory possessed by the Hopi is remarkable, and the general familiarity with the names and uses of plants and animals is surprising. Even small children were able to supply the names, corroborated later by adults.

In Hough's opinion, "Curiously enough, every Moki is a botanist; not a botanist, of course, in the scientific way; one for practical purposes, rather, who had given descriptive names to his plants long before Lannæus had dressed them out in high-sounding Latin" (Hough 1898:37). Hough pointed out that the process of plant collecting took people back to ancestral archaeological sites, and gave them a wide knowledge of their regional environment, including the Grand Canyon.

A number of the wild plants that the Hopi gather from the Grand Canyon area have recently been described by Ainsworth (1988:17-42). These plants include greens such as *wi'wa* (coxcorn) and *ko'mo* (pigweed) that are collected along the Colorado River. Pinyon nuts are collected in the Grand Canyon National Park and adjacent areas. Cottonwood for prayer sticks, katsina dolls, other ceremonial paraphernalia and construction use is collected at *Neneqpi Wunasivu* (Lees Ferry) and other locations along the Colorado River near the Grand Canyon. Medicinal plants and plants for ceremonial use are collected in the Grand Canyon. Oak for hunting sticks is collected at the Grand Canyon, and wood for bows and arrows is collected at Marble Canyon. In the past, Hopis collected fuelwood in the Watch Tower area of the Grand Canyon area.

³⁶⁷ Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 16.

With respect to the collection of wild plants, O'Kane (1953:161) observed,

... when a wild plant is cut off or dug up, as it is, for example, in securing a planting stick, tradition requires that it first be sprinkled with a bit of sacred corn meal, symbolizing a silent prayer to its spirit. It is a living thing, the work of the creator of all life, and is not be wantonly destroyed.

This ethos was observed during field work for the GCES project. Whenever a plant was collected, the Hopi cultural advisors left a prayer offering. As a cultural advisor from Hotevilla explained,³⁶⁸

... we don't all know where the medicine comes from in the canyon. There are different things and uses by medicine people and others in the performance of the certain rituals. I don't know any of those but some harvest medicine from there if they can find them. Some people find their medicine there and harvest only enough for their use. All things taken from there has to be paid with *hooma* and *naquaqwusi*, corn meal and *paaho*. Harvesting medicinal plants by medicine man, I understand, is not just going out and collect. It has to be set, as in ceremony, and collect in good faith, treated with respect and cured with care, so when used it will provide utmost potency or power. One can collect, as lay person, without proper care of some plants the medicine may not cure. So this is important to medicine people and also people who collect plants and herbs for ceremonial purposes, usually some specific clans.

During field work for the GCES project, it was assumed that if natural resources are important to the Hopi they will have Hopi names. Therefore an effort was made to collect as many Hopi names for plants and animals as possible during the river trips conducted to undertake research. It should be noted, however, that resource identification was never the sole research activity, so the attention of Hopi cultural advisors was never focused exclusively on plants and animals. Resources were generally identified as an adjunct of other research activities, such as inspection of archaeological sites or hikes to natural features. Be this as it may, a substantial amount of valuable information about plants was collected.

Information about the ecological zone where the plants were observed was recorded but is not analyzed in this report. At the present time, the policy of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office is that all plants and all ecological zones in the Grand Canyon are culturally important. Without further study and consultation with Hopi cultural advisors, the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office does not endorse "cultural triage" (Stoffle and Evans 1990) and declare that some resources are more important than other resources. The beach zone, the riparian zone, the new highwater zone, the old high water zone, and the upper reaches of the Grand Canyon all have culturally important natural resources that need to be protected.

Few plant specimens were collected during GCES research. Record photographs were taken to document most of the plants identified in field work (Figure 31). It was not always possible,

³⁶⁸ Simon Polingyumtewa interview, July 30, 1991, p. 12.

however, for Hopi advisors at CRATT meetings to confirm the identification of these plants using the photographs.³⁶⁹



Figure 31. *Piiva* (native tobacco) near Redwall Cavern, River Mile 33. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, October 2, 1993.

Many of the scientific names for plants were provided by Michael Yeatts, CPO Archaeologist, during field work (Figure 32).³⁷⁰ Additional research to identify scientific names was accomplished using Whiting's *Ethnobotany of the Hopi* (Whiting 1939). With the exception of the Spring 1995 river trip in which Max Taylor participated, Hopi cultural advisors in the field were not trained in

³⁶⁹ T. J. Ferguson, Notes Taken During the Meeting of the Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, November 23, 1994. Ms. on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, November 23, 1994.]

³⁷⁰ Michael Yeatts, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip.

Mike Yeatts, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip.

Mike Yeatts, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip.

Mike Yeatts, Field Notes, Fall 1995 River Trip.

scientific identification of plants. Sometimes, they know the Hopi name for a plant but not a popular English name. Consequently, the fit between Hopi, scientific, and folk taxonomies is not always perfect. The Hopi classification of plants is made more difficult by the fact that the names of many Hopi resources vary between the Hopi villages on different mesas. Sometimes the pronunciation of plant names varies; sometimes the same plant will have different names. For all of these reasons, the information about plants in this chapter should be considered a preliminary sketch of Hopi knowledge that needs further refinement, and, in some instances, correction based on additional work. Hopi ethnobotany is a rich field and much work remains to be done in the Grand Canyon.



Figure 32. Mike Yeatts, Max Taylor and Dennis Koyahongya record *Leehu* (Indian Rice Grass) at River Mile 4.5. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, May 15, 1995.

Table 15 lists the 77 plants identified during GCES field work, providing the Hopi name, the scientific name, the common name, and notes on Hopi usage. The blank cells in Table 15 provide an indication of the work still needed to fully document Hopi ethnobotany related to the Grand Canyon.

Several species of plants in the Grand Canyon were viewed by Hopi cultural advisors as signs that can be used to interpret the "health" of the ecosystem. The varieties of *qahavi* (willow, *Salix* sp.) that occur in the Grand Canyon are one example of this. Traditionally, willows were collected at

the mouth of the Little Colorado River and Salt Trail Canyon during Hopi pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa*, as well as at other locations along the Little Colorado River.³⁷¹ Today, throughout the Grand Canyon, many stands of willows are being invaded and replaced by tamarisk (Carothers and Brown 1991:121-125). This is of concern to Hopi cultural advisors because willows are used in the manufacture of Hopi *paaho*, and the Hopi believe this plant should be protected wherever it grows. Willows are becoming scarce around the Hopi Mesas, so the stands in the Grand Canyon represent an increasingly important resource.³⁷²

The *wi'pho* (cattails) that grow in the Grand Canyon have cultural importance to the Hopi and are also used as a sign of a healthy ecosystem (Figure 33). Hopi cultural advisors note that cattails are a sacred plant associated the *Patkingyam* (Water Clan), and are used in many ceremonies, including the Home Dance, Flute Dance, and other rituals.³⁷³ The Hopi traditionally collect cattails at Moenkopi, Keams Canyon, the Colorado River, and along the Little Colorado River near the ancestral village of Homol'ovi. Even though cattails are not regularly collected in the inner recesses of the Grand Canyon, Hopi cultural advisors feel strongly that this plant is precious and has an

³⁷¹ Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 21.

Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 14.

³⁷² Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 38-39.

Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 22.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, pp. 27-28.

³⁷³ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 14.

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 2-4.

Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quavema, and Cedric Kewaninveya interview, July 15, 1991, p. 2.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 37-38.

T. J. Ferguson notes from LaVern Siweupmptewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991, p. 9.

Eljean Joshevama interview, July 17, 1991, p. 4.

Walter Hamana interview June 20, 1991, pp. 20-21.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, p. 21.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 18-19.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 30-32.

Anna Silas interview, June 27, 1991, p. 3.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 23-24.

Vivian Poocha interview, August 1, 1991, p. 2.

Wilton Kooyahoema in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 14.

LaVern Siweupmptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes Taken During the Meeting of the Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, December 14, 1994, Mishongnovi Community Center, Second Mesa, Arizona, p. 3. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, December 14, 1994.]

inherent value wherever it grows. Consequently, they think that *all* stands of cattails need to be managed to protect them and nurture their growth. The association between cattails and water is important both symbolically and ecologically. Hopi cultural advisors noted that stands of cattails attract birds and ducks and other animals associated with water. The careful management of cattails thus helps to protect all associated life forms.

Hopi cultural advisors were reticent about revealing information about medicinal plants and where they are collected along the Colorado River and Little Colorado River. Nonetheless, these cultural advisors report that these medicinal plants are important, and management of the Grand Canyon to protect all plant life will help sustain the growth of these plants as well.³⁷⁴

One of the reasons contemporary Hopis are reluctant to divulge information about Hopi ethnobotany in publications is because of the potential misappropriation of this knowledge by "New Age" adherents or people trying to commercialize herbal medicine (Koyiumptewa 1993:20). Hopi information about ethnobotany is highly valued and needs to be protected.

In addition to specific plants with cultural importance, Hopi cultural advisors felt strongly that the entire riparian zone of the Little Colorado River and the Colorado River in the Grand Canyon is a fragile resource that should be carefully managed to protect all of its associated plants and animals.³⁷⁵ The Hopi believe that all of the plants and animals associated with the riparian zone have the right to exist, and that earth stewards should work to protect the riparian zone integral to their existence.

³⁷⁴ Nat Nutongla interview, July 9, 1991, p. 16.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 19-20.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 27.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 22.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 39-40.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 32.

Owen Numkena interview, July 3, 1994, p. 3.

Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, April 8, 1994, p. 6.

³⁷⁵ Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 7.

Nat Nutongla interview, July 9, 1991, pp. 27-28.

Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 35.

Eljean Joshevama interview form, July 17, 1991, pp. 6-7.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 33, 36.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 42.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 45-46.



Figure 33. *Wipho* (cattails) adjacent to the Little Colorado River near its confluence with the Colorado River. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, October 5, 1993

Table 15

Preliminary Identifications of Plants with Hopi Names in the Grand Canyon

Hopi Name	Scientific Name	Common Name	Notes on Usage
Aasa	<i>Sophia pinnata</i>	Tansy mustard	clan wuya; used to prepare paint; food
aqawsi	<i>Helianthus</i> sp.	Sunflower	a.k.a. <i>hakowsi</i> ; used for black dye; gum
Atsapaqavi	<i>Scripus lacustris</i>	sedge; rush	a.k.a. <i>mumuzri</i> ; ceremonial use; "Fake bamboo"
hahavi qalmongwa	<i>Aristida</i> sp.	Three-awn grass	
Haqwo	<i>Encelia farinosa</i>	Brittlebush	
ho: 'nyavi	<i>Berberus fremonti</i>	Holly grape	
hohoysi	<i>Thelesperma gracile</i>		tea; dye
hohu	<i>Juniperus</i> sp.	Juniper	a.k.a. <i>ngomaapi</i> ; clan wuya; fuelwood; medicinal use
hooki	<i>Stipa comata</i>	Needle-and-Thread grass	ceremonial use; woven into shirts
hovakpi	<i>Artemesia filifolia</i>	Sand Sage	ceremonial and medicinal use
hunvi	<i>Cowania mexicana</i>	Cliff rose	medicinal use; emetic
isalhavu	<i>Axclepias involucrata</i>	Milkweed	chewing gum
keeve	<i>Lycium</i> sp.	Wolfberry	ceremonial use; food source
kopona	<i>Sphaeralcea</i> spp.	Globemallow	ceremonial use; used for "bone medicine"
kuungva	<i>Artemisia frigida</i>	Mountain Sagebrush	a.k.a. <i>wuupa</i> ; ceremonial use
kwa'kwi	<i>Sporobolus giganteus</i>	Giant dropseed	roofing material and matting
kwaani	<i>Agave</i> sp.	Mescal	used for food: ritual association
kwaavi	<i>Fallugia paradoxa</i>	Apache Plume	a.k.a. <i>mongouwvi</i> ; stems used for arrows, ritual use
kwiivi	<i>Stanleya pinnata</i>	Spinach	a.k.a.; <i>wi'ivi</i> ; food source
kwingvi	<i>Quercus</i> sp.	Oak	clan wuya; used to make implements, bows, digging sticks.
laqapa	<i>Salicornia utahensis</i> [?]		[same Hopi name as mistletoe but different plant]
leehu	<i>Oryzopsis hymenoides</i>	Indian rice grass	clan wuya; famine food
leemansi	<i>Anogra</i> sp.	evening primrose	used as a medicine
maao'vi	<i>Gutierrezia</i> spp.	Snakeweed	a.k.a. <i>Maaövi</i> ; prayer feathers; mixed with water and applied to plants to repel animals; medicinal use
mangya			used for prayer feathers; also used in baking sweet corn to provide flavor;
masavi			medicinal use
masiqwhavi	<i>Salix</i> sp.	Willow	"a type of willow" with ritual use
masiwi			a.k.a. <i>mamaswi</i> , medicine used to treat sores
mongpuwvi	<i>Fallugia paradoxa</i>	Owl's Eye	ceremonial use

mooho	<i>Yucca angustissima</i>	yucca	ceremonial use; <i>piito</i> (fruit) boiled for eating; used in basketry; roots make shampoo
naavu	<i>Opuntia</i> sp.	Prickly pear	small pads eaten during droughts; clan <i>wuya</i>
ngahu	<i>Larrea tridentata</i>	Creosote	"Phoenix medicine"
nuuna	<i>Sporobolus airoides</i>	Alkalai Sacaton	food source
ötövi	<i>Prosopis</i> sp.	Mesquite	food source during migration
ova	<i>Vitis</i> sp.	grape	
paaqavi	<i>Phragmites communis</i>	reed; scouring horsetail	ritual use; clan <i>wuya</i> ; construction material; pipe stems
paatso	<i>Xanthium saccharatum</i>	Cockle bur	ceremonial use
paatsu		grass growing near water	
pahongavi	<i>Salix</i> sp.	willow	used for prayer sticks
pala'mansi	<i>Castilleja</i> sp.	Indian Paintbrush	ceremonial use; clan <i>wuya</i>
paskwapu		algae	ceremonial use
patshru		generic grasses	
pe'sru	<i>Sitanion hytrix</i>	squirrel-tail grass	
pe'sru		Linder's wheatgrass	nuisance in fields
piiva	<i>Nicotiana</i> sp.	Indian tobacco	used in ritual smoking; medicine for ear infection; clan <i>wuya</i>
pöna	<i>Echinocerus</i> sp.	Cactus	a.k.a. <i>ösu</i> ; ceremonial use
pushö			ceremonial use
qahavi	<i>Salix</i> spp.	Willow	ritual use; used for <i>paaho</i> ; roof construction
qavatsi	<i>Quamoclidion multiflorum</i>	Four O'Clock	medicinal use
samowa	<i>Yucca baccata</i>	yucca	fruits used for food
saqwakwahvi	<i>Salix</i> sp.	"blue willow"	medicine; used like aspirin
sivaapi	<i>Chrysothamnus naseousus</i>	Rabbitbrush	basketry
siwi	<i>Parryella filifolia</i>	Dune broom	ceremonial use; used to make basketry
söhö	<i>Hilaria jamesii</i>	Galleta grass	a.k.a. <i>se'hu</i> ; ritual use; used in basketry
söhövi	<i>Populus</i> sp.	Cottonwood	ceremonial use; used in katsina carving, construction timber, production of wedding robe; clan <i>wuya</i>
songoho	<i>Calamovifa gigantea</i>	reed	called <i>Songosivu</i> on Third Mesa; use: wedding suitcase
soo'ksi	<i>Mirabilis multiflora</i>	Four O'clock	ceremonial use; used to light pipe tobacco
suvapi	<i>Ephedra</i> sp.	Mormon Tea	a.k.a. <i>osvi</i> , <i>ösvi</i> , <i>ösapqölö</i> ; used for tea; emetic; stress reduction
suvipsi	<i>Celtis reticulata</i>	Hackberry	basketry; food source
suvipsi	<i>Rhus trilobata</i>	Squaw bush	beverage; mordant; basketry; kiva fuel

<i>suwvi</i>	<i>Atriplex</i> sp.	Fourwing Saltbush	a.k.a. <i>hoyavaqo</i> ; used to make soap; ashes used to make hominy; kiva fuel
<i>tawasi</i>	<i>Petalostemon oligophyllum</i> [?]		ceremonial use
<i>ici'ninza</i>	<i>Crisium</i> sp.	Thistle	
<i>teeva</i>	<i>Sarcobatus</i> sp.	Greasewood	clan <i>wuyva</i> ; kiva fuel; used for tools
<i>tiqatsumnsi</i>			plant used in birthing purification rituals; medicinal drink for cleansing
<i>to'otima</i>	<i>Erigeron</i> sp.	fleabane	medicinal use
<i>tootim</i>	<i>Aster</i> sp.	white aster	used in prayer feathers
<i>tsimona</i>	<i>Datura meteloides</i>	Jimsonweed	ritual and medicinal use
<i>tsu'zru</i>	<i>Astragalus</i> sp.	Locoweed	noxious plant
<i>tu'itsma</i>	<i>Pectis angustifolia</i>		condiment; dye
<i>tumi</i>	<i>Cleome serrulata</i>	Rocky Mountain Beeweed	food; juice made into black dye for yucca basketry
<i>tuminignwa</i>	<i>Oenothera</i> sp.	primrose	
<i>tumoala</i>	<i>Martynia louisana</i>	Devil's Claw	ceremonial paraphernalia
<i>wiiwa</i>	<i>Acanthochiton wrightii</i>	greens	wild spinach
<i>wipho</i>	<i>Typha</i> sp.	cattail	ritual use, used during Home Dance, gum.
<i>wu'si</i>	<i>Muhlenbergia</i> sp.	Sand muhly	ceremonial use; metate brush
<i>wu'si</i>	<i>Muhlenbergia pungens</i>	Purple hair grass	used for brush
<i>võngo</i>	<i>Opuntia</i> sp.	Prickly Pear	clan <i>wuyva</i> ; food source

TUUTUVOST (ANIMALS)

As with plants, the Hopi place a great value on the animals that live along the Little Colorado River and the Colorado River through the Grand Canyon. These natural resources have an inherent value, as well as an economic value. The game animals and birds known and used by the Hopi play an important role in Hopi culture.

Nequatewa (1954:32) explained Hopi attitudes toward game animals by pointing out that, "To a Hopi all the game animals are people, the offspring of Ti-kuoi Wuti, a goddess ... and Masao, the earth god." Respect for the life of a game animal caught in the hunt is revealed in the Hopi's practice of ritually "sending" animals home to their ancestors. Nequatewa (1954:33) observed that while there are many different rituals pertaining to specific animals, all animals deserve the respect of such ceremonies.

Ainsworth (1986:72-76) reported the Hopi hunt a number of animals in the vicinity of the Colorado River and Grand Canyon. Rabbits were traditionally hunted at Lees Ferry and in the Grand Canyon area, and deer were taken near the Grand Canyon. The Hopi still gather eagles along the south rim of the Grand Canyon. Many Hopis fish at Lees Ferry. Hopi cultural advisors added that

jackrabbits, wildcats, bobcats, and turtles were hunted throughout the valley of the Little Colorado River.³⁷⁶

The feathers of a great many birds are collected for *paaho* and other ritual use, including tanagers, warblers, bluebirds, flickers, owls, roadrunners, eagles, and hawks.³⁷⁷ Small yellow or gold birds were abundant in area of the Salt Trail and were collected for use in prayer feathers. Bird feathers of different colors are used in accordance with Hopi color and directional symbolism. Yellow feathers are related to the north, blue to the west, red to the south, white to the east, black and brown to the zenith, and gray to the nadir.

Hopi names for animals observed in the Grand Canyon were recorded during field work for the GCES project, subject to the same limitations as the research described for plants. A total of 54 animals were documented, including mammals, birds, and insects (Table 16). Again, the blank cells in Table 16 are an indication of the work that remains to be done concerning Hopi ethnozoology in the Grand Canyon. As Table 16 indicates, the Hopi know many animals that live in the Grand Canyon.

Kwaahu (Eagles)

The *kwaahu* (Golden Eagle) and *qötsakwahu* (Bald Eagle) are two species of birds associated with the Grand Canyon that have a vital role in Hopi religion. While the *kwaahu* is the primary species of eagle used by the Hopi, the *qötsakwahu* also play an important role in Hopi ritual life.³⁷⁸ Eagle feathers are used in all prayer offerings, with the downy feathers being especially important (Nequatewa 1946:16). Eagle feathers are also used to make *nakwakwusi* (prayer feathers), *paaho* (prayersticks), and a variety of ritual paraphernalia, including masks, standards, altars, bone whistles, and arrow shafts (Voth 1912c:107-108). Given the importance of the ritual collection of eagles, the status of eagle populations in the Grand Canyon has consequences for the Hopi religion.

³⁷⁶ Robinson Letseoma and Tom Kahe interview, September 30, 1991, p. 27.

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 2.

Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 3.

³⁷⁷ Honahni (1991:58)

Robinson Letseoma and Tom Kahe interview, September 30, 1991, p. 27.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 21.

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 6.

Notes of T. J. Ferguson from LaVern Siweupmptewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991, p. 10.

³⁷⁸ Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, August 1, 1991, p. 7.

Table 16

Preliminary Identification of Animals with Hopi Names in the Grand Canyon

<i>Hopi Name</i>	<i>Scientific Name</i>	<i>Popular Name</i>	<i>Notes on Usage</i>
<i>a'ah</i>	<i>Gymnorhinos</i>	Pinyon jay	ceremonial use
<i>aanu</i>		Ant	
<i>angwusi</i>	<i>Corvus corax</i>	Raven	
<i>atoko</i>		Blue Heron	
<i>eva'tso</i>		Lizard	a.k.a. <i>hehquehpu</i>
<i>hootsoko</i>		Owl	
<i>iisaw</i>	<i>Canis latrans</i>	Coyote	clan <i>wuya</i>
<i>keele</i>	<i>Falco peregrinus</i>	Peregrine Falcon	feathers used during initiations
<i>kokyang</i>		Spider	clan <i>wuya</i>
<i>koona</i>	<i>Eutamias</i> sp.	Chipmunk	
<i>koyamosanu</i>		red/black ant	
<i>koyongo</i>		Turkey	used for food and feathers
<i>kutsiipu</i>	<i>Uta stansfurniana</i> [?]	Small lizard	generic name for small lizards
<i>kwaahu</i>	<i>Aquila chrysaetos</i>	Golden Eagle	ceremonial use
<i>laqana</i>	<i>Ammospermoph-ilus</i> sp.	Squirrel	
<i>maahu</i>		Circada	
<i>manangya</i>	<i>Crotaphytus bicinctores</i>	Black Collared Lizard	katsina named after this animal
<i>masaanu</i>		Termites	
<i>mokwa</i>	<i>Anas platyrhynchos</i>	Mallard	
<i>momo</i>		bee	honey used ceremonially
<i>mongwu</i>		owl	
<i>muringyaw</i>		flicker	
<i>nasingpu</i>		shed snake skin	clan <i>wuya</i> ; used by Snake Clan in naming ceremony
<i>paakwi</i>		generic fish	
<i>paaqwa</i>		frog	
<i>paatsiro</i>		Great Blue Heron	
<i>paatsöviw</i>		water strider	
<i>paawiki</i>		generic duck	
<i>pahona</i>	<i>Castor canadensis</i>	beaver	
<i>palaanu</i>		red ant	
<i>palaqwayo</i>	<i>Buteo jamaicensis</i>	Red Tail Hawk	ceremonial use
<i>pangwu</i>	<i>Ovis canadensis</i>	Big Horn sheep	ceremonial use; food source
<i>patalatsi</i>		dragonfly	ceramic design element
<i>pavaarya</i>		tadpole	
<i>pavawkya</i>		Swallow	feathers used in prayer feathers
<i>poli</i>		butterfly	
<i>qötsakwahu</i>	<i>Haliaeetus leucocephalus</i>	Bald Eagle	ceremonial use; clan <i>wuya</i>
<i>sawya</i>		bat	
<i>sikyat'sii</i>		Yellow warbler	feathers have ritual use
<i>sisiwanu</i>		small black ant	
<i>sowi'ngwa</i>	<i>Odocoileus hemionus</i>	deer	clan <i>wuya</i> ; food source; hides used for clothing
<i>taawamana</i>		warbler	means "Sun Girl," used in prayer feathers

<i>tiposqwa</i>	<i>Catherpes mexicanus</i>	Canyon wren	
<i>to'tsa</i>		hummingbird	ceremonial use
<i>toho</i>	<i>Felis concolor</i>	Mountain Lion	ritual significance and directional symbolism
<i>tokoanu</i>		black ant	
<i>tootovi</i>		black flies	<i>tootovi</i> on Third Mesa
<i>toqlölöqan</i>		snake	black and white marking; clan deity
<i>toqw'lölökang</i>		Kingsnake	
<i>tötölö</i>		grasshopper	
<i>tsuua</i>	<i>Crotalus viridis</i>	rattlesnake	ritual significance; clan <i>wuwa</i>
<i>tutsvo</i>	<i>Salpinctes obsoletus</i>	Rock wren	
<i>wisoko</i>	<i>Cathartes aura</i>	Vulture	
<i>yakantsoro</i>		cricket	

The ritual importance of eagles in prehistoric as well as historic Hopi society is evident in the iconographic depiction of eagle feathers in ancient and modern Hopi ceramics (Fewkes 1898c:1-14). The importance of eagles in Hopi culture has been well-documented by anthropologists (Mearns 1896:398; Fewkes 1900c:702; Voth 1912c:107-108; Hough 1915:170; Lockett 1933:26; Bradfield 1973:238-240; Loftin 1991:95; Ferguson and Dongoske 1994:48-54). The eagle is a sacred bird whose feathers are used in many religious ceremonies; the collection of eagles is consequently accompanied by prayer offerings and other rituals.³⁷⁹ Eagle nests are regarded as shrines because they are used as receptacles for prayer offerings for the increase of the eagle population, and to pay homage to the spiritual domain of the eagle.

In 1975, Viets Lomahaftewa claimed the Grand Canyon as one of the traditional Hopi eagle gathering areas. At that time, he explained that (*Qua' Töqti* 1975:1),

We still live for these things ... the eagles help us to grow its feathers we use to petition the clouds for rain. These feathers are like (your) written petitions (prayers) which we deliver to them (clouds) to ask them to come and give our crops a drink so that my (our) children may eat, which will make me happy. This is how we elders work these things.

In 1988 the Vice Chairman of the Hopi Tribe, Vernon Masayesva, stated, "The eagle is a powerful bird to the Hopis. The whole family structure centers on the eagles when the are brought in" (Volante 1988a). Boys have the responsibility to hunt for the squirrels and rabbits used to feed the birds and girls are taught to prepare food for the eagles before cooking for their own family.

The eagles are "sent home" after the *Niman* (Home Dance), the feathers are plucked and distributed among clan members, and the eagles are given a ritual burial (Voth 1912c:107-108). Walter Hamana explained, "Its not a matter of killing something. Its a matter of Hopis doing this for your benefit and mine and mankind throughout the world. Its on their behalf that these things are

³⁷⁹ T. J. Ferguson notes from LaVern Siweupmptewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991, p. 9. Simon Polingyumptewa interview, July 30, 1991, pp. 12,16.

done, so that life here on Earth will continue. So they're reviving and sustaining life; they're not killing anything. That's the way the Hopis look at it" (Volante 1988a).

Valjean Joshevama (1993) recently testified about the continuing importance of eagles in Hopi culture, stating,

And each time that we offered our prayers, there was the ever present feathers from my other father, the eagle.

This eagle, who comes nearer to the sun, is the medium through which our prayers are carried. This eagle allows us to bring home to our villages, her children so that we can look forward to the continued success of having a way to have our prayer delivered.

When we receive these young eagles at their places of birth, we bring them home and honor them as a Hopi child is honored. The hair is washed, a name is given, and a home is prepared where the eagle is cared for daily. Fresh meat is fed to the eagle every day. His water source is always plenty.

Then when we hear the voices of these eagles in our villages, we understand that they are helping to bring rains to our fields. They are calling out to the clouds to come and shade us. They are calling out to the clouds to come and shade us and sprinkle their cooling waters on all of us. And we have faith that those eagles, our fathers too, will help bring rains to us.

In Hopi society, the rights to collect feral eagles from specific areas is vested in clan membership (Fewkes 1900c:692; Voth 1912c:107). Eagle shrines demarcate the collection areas that belong to different clans. Hough (1915:169-70) documented that the eagle nests west of the Hopi villages on the Colorado River belong to the Oraibi and Second Mesa villages. In describing Hopi eagle gathering in the early twentieth century, Voth (1912c:107) wrote,

Every spring hunting expeditions set out to procure young eagles. These, when captured in their roosts, are usually tied to racks ... and carried to the villages where they are kept of the flat house tops, tied by one leg to some beam, rock or peg to prevent their escape ... Here they are fed with rabbits, field mice, etc. until about July, when they have grown to full size. The number of birds, thus captured, varies very much in different years. One year there were thirty-five in the village of Oraibi alone. Among these are usually also various kinds of hawks, especially a certain large kind, which the Hopi call 'red eagle,' the feathers of which are used very extensively for prayer offerings, masks, eagle shafts, etc.

Hopi cultural advisors confirmed that eagles are still collected along the south rim of the Grand Canyon, below Grand Falls on the Little Colorado River, and elsewhere in the Little Colorado River valley.³⁸⁰ There are Hopi eagle shrines on the rim east of Marble Canyon. The Bear Clan collects

³⁸⁰ Eric Polingyouma, June 18, 1991, p. 67.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 6.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 4-7.

eagles near Marble Canyon and *Neneqpi Wunasivu* (Lees Ferry). Other clans have an eagle shrine near Glen Canyon. The Greasewood Clan of Oraibi holds the rights to collect eagles along the Little Colorado River from Cameron to the confluence of the Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers.

Hopi cultural advisors also explained that there are no substitutes for eagle feathers in many Hopi ceremonies.³⁸¹ Eagle feathers are an essential component of many rituals and prayer offerings. This fact makes the Hopi concerned about the welfare of all eagles, including the eagle population in the Grand Canyon. As a cultural advisor from Moenkopi said, "You have to have eagle feathers to make prayer feathers. You can't make it out of anything else ..."382

Although the Fish and Wildlife Service has a program to provide eagle feathers and carcasses to Indian Tribes, the Hopis require live eagles for religious use because they have the power of lightness and purity needed to carry prayers to deities (Volante 1988b). In recent years, the Hopi have become increasingly concerned because it appears that the settlement by Navajos and other people in the traditional eagle gathering areas has reduced the number of eagles that are available.³⁸³

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 6.

Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 53.

Walter Hamana interviews, June 20, 1991, pp. 29-31; July 16, 1993, p. 16.

Patrick Lomawaima interview, January 28, 1992, p. 7.

Alton Honanhi and Eric Polingyouma in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, July 15, 1992. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, July 15, 1992.]

³⁸¹ Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quavema, and Cedric Kewaninveya interview, July 15, 1991, p. 2.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 52.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 32.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 43-44.

Robinson Letseoma and Tom Kahe interview, September 30, 1991, p. 23.

Vivian Poocha interview, August 1, 1991, p. 4.

Anna Silas interview, June 27, 1991, p. 4.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 33.

Lee Wayne Lomayestewa interview, July 7, 1993, pp. 44-46.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 68-69.

³⁸² Alton Honanhi, July 21, 1991, p. 54.

³⁸³ LaVern Siweupmptewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991, p. 9.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, pp. 50-51.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 66.

Douglas Coochwyetewa, Will Mase, Nelson Honayaktewa, and Wayne Susunkewa interview, June 25, 1991, p. 2.

In addition, the Navajo Nation has begun to pressure Hopis not to collect eagles on land that is now the Navajo Indian Reservation (Volante 1988b; Navajo Times 1995).

For these reasons, the Hopis are glad that the eagle population in the Grand Canyon has increased in recent years (Carothers and Brown 1991:146-148). Hopi cultural advisors think the increase in eagles is a "good sign."³⁸⁴ Although one cultural advisor said that he personally would not want to collect eagles outside the area owned by his clan,³⁸⁵ many other cultural advisors expressed an interest in the possibility of collecting eagles in new areas of the Grand Canyon if that is permitted and the proper rituals are followed.³⁸⁶ Some of these advisors pointed out that Hopis have always been free to collect eagles in any area not owned by a particular clan. In their way of thinking, the collection of eagles in areas of the Grand Canyon National Park not currently owned by a Hopi clan therefore has a basis in Hopi traditions. One cultural advisor noted that even if the Hopi people do not want to collect eagles in the Grand Canyon National Park they will want to place prayer feathers there for those eagles.³⁸⁷

Given the importance of eagles in Hopi culture, the Hopi Tribe wants to see the Glen Canyon Dam managed so the environment of the Grand Canyon "... is protected so that the golden eagle and other birds of prey can flourish down there."³⁸⁸

³⁸⁴ Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 6.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 38-39.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 65.

Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 29.

³⁸⁵ Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 32.

³⁸⁶ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 19.

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 6.

Simon Polingyumtewa interview, July 30, 1991, pp. 15-16.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 67.

Paul Saukie interview, July 15, 1991, p. 2.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, p. 34.

Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quavema, and Cedric Kewaninveya interview, July 15, 1991, p. 2.

Notes of T. J. Ferguson from Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991, p. 5.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 31-32.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 43-44.

³⁸⁷ Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991 pp. 41-42.

³⁸⁸ Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991 p. 39.

ENDANGERED SPECIES

Even though Hopi cultural advisors were not personally familiar with the Humpback chub or other endangered species in the Grand Canyon, they universally expressed concern about the welfare of these lifeforms. The fundamental Hopi attitude towards life and nature was described by Mary-Russell F. Colton (quoted in Whiting 1939:6), who pointed out that,

To the Hopi all life is one. All the animals, birds, insects, and every living creature, including the trees and plants, in the forms in which we ordinarily see them, appear only in masquerade, for, as the Hopi say, all these creatures that share the spark of life with us humans, surely have other homes where they live in human form. Therefore, all these living things are thought of as human and, may sometimes be seen in their own forms. When one of them is killed, its soul must return to its own world which it may never leave again, leaving behind it descendants which will take its place in the human world, generation after generation.

Given this orientation, the Hopi treat other lifeforms as their relatives, and they consider themselves stewards who are responsible for nurturing all living things. As a cultural advisor from Hotevilla explained, "... we have a concern about all creatures of nature because they're part of ... our natural environment. We have to ... know and be able to see the creatures of nature for whom the ... religious leaders prepare the prayer offerings."³⁸⁹ Another cultural advisor from Oraibi added he is concerned about the possible extinction of the humpback chub, "Because of the Hopi nature to preserve and use restraint in the harvesting of all natural resources."³⁹⁰

A cultural advisor from Shungopavi, pointed out that the Hopi don't have specific knowledge about the humpback chub because "they don't go for those when they do the pilgrimage. They would discourage each other from that. 'Do not bother them,' they would tell each other, 'because that is not what we are here for.'"³⁹¹ *Paakiwi* is the generic name that the Hopi use to refer to all fish.³⁹² A cultural advisor from Mishongnovi noted that even though his elders didn't have specific names for the native fishes in *Pisisvayu*, they still spoke of them in prayers.³⁹³

³⁸⁹ Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, August 1, 1991, pp., 6-7.

³⁹⁰ Eljean Joshevama interview form, July 17, 1991, p. 5.

³⁹¹ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 2.

³⁹² Alton Honahni, July 21, 1991, p. 45.

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 5.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, p. 27.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 58.

Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 25.

Jenkins (1991a:31-32)

³⁹³ Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 20.

The *Patkingyam* (Water Divided Clan) has a special concern for all things associated with water, so their members are particularly concerned about the possible extinction of the humpback chub. As Water Clan members from Mishongnovi said, "All water animals need to be protected."³⁹⁴ Fish are sacred creatures to the Water Clan, which has the responsibility to protect fish for the benefit of all. The extinction of any fish constitutes a significant loss to the domain of the Water Clan.³⁹⁵

Many Hopi cultural advisors expressed their belief that all animals in the Grand Canyon should be protected.³⁹⁶ These Hopis said they would be personally saddened and feel a loss if the humpback chub or any other species in the Grand Canyon became extinct. Everything is given a life for a reason and all life should be respected and nurtured. As a cultural advisor from Moenkopi explained, any animal that becomes endangered is a concern for him. He wants all fish to exist. He added "We care about the survival of all living things. This is part of my prayers. We make *paaho* for all things existing in the whole wilderness."³⁹⁷

³⁹⁴ Notes of T. J. Ferguson from LaVern Siweupmptewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991, p. 7.

³⁹⁵ Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991, p. 4.

Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 2.

³⁹⁶ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 61.

Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, 10.

Esther Talayumptewa and Karen Shupla interview, August 1, 1991, p. 5.

Dalton Taylor interview, November 13, 1991, p. 4.

Martin Talayumptewa interview, January 16, 1992, p. 5.

Lee Wayne Lomayestewa interview, July 7, 1993, p. 35.

Delfred Leslie interview, December 16, 1992, p. 7.

Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, p. 6.

Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 26-27.

Nat Nutongla interview, July 9, 1991, p. 24.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 60.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 27.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, pp. 37-39.

Robinson Letseoma and Tom Kahe interview, September 30, 1991, pp. 6-8.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, pp. 28-29.

Interview with First Mesa Elders, November 13, 1991, p. 3.

Douglas Coochwytewa, Will Mase, Nelson Honyaktewa, and Wayne Susunkewa interview, June 25, 1991, p. 2.

Paul Saukie interview, July 15, 1991, p. 2.

Emory Sekaquaptewa interview, January 14, 1992, p. 7.

³⁹⁷ Gilbert Naseyouma in Orville Hongoeva and Gilbert Naseyouma interview, August 28, 1992, p. 4.

A cultural advisor from Tewa Village said the Hopi want to preserve all living species because, "They were put there for a purpose ... they help preserve their environment there and there's a reason for them to be in there ... That's the way the Hopi believe, you know, that all living things were put here for a purpose and that we shouldn't destroy them or kill it. That they have a right to also be here. And there's a purpose for them being here, that's what my dad, you know, tells me all the time."³⁹⁸

A cultural advisor from Oraibi pointed out he is concerned about endangered fish because of the role these animals play in the Hopi religion. He explained that, "during certain ceremonies they make prayer feathers for all of the moving animals that are on this world. There are different prayers, prayer feathers that are made for these species so that ... they won't become extinct."³⁹⁹ This idea was also expressed by a cultural advisor from Mishongnovi, who said,⁴⁰⁰

... the Hopi people feel ... that every living thing ... that breathes ... should be protected ... according to our beliefs. Even the rocks are supposed to be protected ... the plant life, the fish ... anything that breathes air ... has it's own ... place in this life. So I think ... because when we do our ... prayers ... we don't ... just pray for ... clouds or rain the human beings [we pray for] everything that breathes air and moves ... we pray for everything ... to exist ...

Vernon Masayesva, the Chairman of the Hopi Tribe in 1991, said that he wasn't personally aware of the humpback chub but that he was concerned about its continued existence because of the interrelatedness of all living things in Hopi philosophy. Masayesva explained that in the Hopi view,⁴⁰¹

All life forms were all interrelated in some form or fashion. You know we're all here as one living form, as a system. We all depend on each other, you know. Just because I don't know what that fish is or I don't know or heard anything about in my own traditional education that doesn't mean I'm not effected by it. In some form or fashion I am. I don't know but ... there is this interconnectedness among things.

Hopi cultural advisors think that we all share the responsibility to protect endangered species. In this regard, cultural advisors said that the government should operate the Glen Canyon Dam to protect all endangered species.⁴⁰² In the words of cultural advisors from Shipaulovi, "To save fish, dam releases should be regulated to avoid damage to the fish. Killing the fish will put the ecology off balance and nature does something to balance or replace the loss, sometimes good but many times bad."⁴⁰³

³⁹⁸ Lloyd Ami interview, June 2, 1993, p. 5.

³⁹⁹ Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 26.

⁴⁰⁰ Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 40.

⁴⁰¹ Vernon Masayesva interview, August 28, 1991, p. 7.

⁴⁰² Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 47.

⁴⁰³ Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quavema, and Cedric Kewaninveya interview, July 15, 1991, p. 2.

REINTRODUCTION OF THE CONDOR

While a few Hopi cultural advisors knew that the California condor once inhabited the Grand Canyon, many others did not. This is not surprising because the last condor in the Grand Canyon was shot by prospectors in 1881 (Carothers and Brown 1991:161-162). In addition to historic sightings, condor bones have been found in four caves in the Grand Canyon, all of which are located in the Redwall limestone (DeSauss 1956). Split-twig figurines were also found in three of the four caves, although not in direct association with the condor bones. DeSauss (1956:45) concluded that the presence of condor bones "... in figurine sites may be fortuitous or there may be some connection, such as ceremonial use of the feathers."

At the time the field work and interviews were conducted for this report, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service was developing a plan to reintroduce the California condor to the Grand Canyon (Arizona Daily Star 1995:B-2). The population of condors hit a low of 21 in 1982. There are now 101 condors, bred at the Los Angeles Zoo, the San Diego Wild Animal Park, and the World Center for Birds of Prey in Boise, Idaho. The chance for survival of released condors is thought to be higher in Arizona than in California since there will be less human contact. Of the 19 condors released in California, only six remain in the wild. Five condors died and eight were recaptured to prevent them from endangering themselves. Four of the condors died when they flew into power lines; the fifth when it drank antifreeze. The condors in the "wild" in California are still dependent on being fed by humans. The federal government plans to release four or five condors a year in Arizona to form a strong population base. The project will cost \$250,000 a year.

Most Hopi cultural advisors thought the plan to reintroduce the condor to the Grand Canyon was a good idea if this would not have an adverse impact on the eagle population.⁴⁰⁴ Several cultural advisors, however, said they needed more information about the ecology of the condor in relation to the Grand Canyon in order to form an opinion.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁴ Esther Talayumptewa and Karen Shupla interview, August 1, 1991, p. 6.

Lee Wayne Lomayestewa interview, July 7, 1993 p. 41.

Orville Hongeava and Gilbert Naseyouma interview, August 28, 1992, p. 4.

Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 56.

Nat Nutongla interview, July 9, 1991, p. 30-31.

Eljean Joshevama interview form, July 17, 1991, p. 7.

Robinson Letseoma and Tom Kahe interview, September 30, 1991, p. 26.

Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 28.

Arnold Taylor interview, June, 19, 1991, pp. 34-35.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, pp. 52-53.

Anna Silas interview, June 27, 1991, p. 4.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, pp. 36-37.

⁴⁰⁵ Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 45-46.

Lloyd Ami interview, June 2, 1993, p. 7.

Several of the cultural advisors who thought the condor should be reintroduced to the Grand Canyon based their opinion on the fact that they knew the Hopi once used condor feathers for ritual purification, and that the condor is referred to in Hopi oral traditions as the *kwaatoko* or "big eagle." These cultural advisors thought the California condor should be placed back in the canyon in its original home.⁴⁰⁶

The plan to release condors in Arizona was implemented on October 29, 1996, when six condors were placed in a pen on a rock ledge of the Vermillion Cliffs (Arizona Daily Star 1996:1, 16A). After a period of acclimation, these condors were released into the wild on December 12, 1996. One of these condors was subsequently killed by a golden eagle, but the others have adjusted well to their new environment. In April of 1997, an additional nine condors were brought to the Vermillion Cliffs to prepare them for release (Arizona Daily Star 1996:2B). One of the condors released in December was observed flying over the Grand Canyon in early April.

EROSION

Erosion of sediments in the Grand Canyon is a complicated and emotional issue for many Hopi people.⁴⁰⁷ The scientific processes of sand deposition and erosion are not well understood in relation to the impacts that are related to the operation of the Glen Canyon Dam. Many Hopi cultural advisors think that natural erosion should be allowed to take its course in the Grand Canyon. This erosion is a natural process and is meant to be. These same cultural advisors, however, think that man-made erosion in the Grand Canyon should be stopped and prevented from happening. The key to this issue is understanding what erosion is natural and what erosion is caused by human action. During field work in the Grand Canyon, Leigh Jenkins observed that many discussions of erosion prey on emotions, and that the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office needs to guard against emotional arguments. Erosion is highly technical issue, and the Hopis need to know more about the facts.⁴⁰⁸

Some cultural advisors who made a distinction between natural erosion and man-caused erosion think that natural erosion should be allowed to run its course without intervention, even if this washes archaeological material away.⁴⁰⁹ These cultural advisors think that when human remains and other archaeological deposits are washed away, it is nature's way of cleansing an area. Hopi cultural

T. J. Ferguson notes from Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991, p. 5.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 70-71.

⁴⁰⁶ Paul Saukie interview, July 15, 1991, p. 2.

Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 6.

Simon Polingyumtewa interview, July 30, 1991 p. 16.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 43-44.

⁴⁰⁷ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 20.

⁴⁰⁸ Leigh Jenkins and cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 53.

⁴⁰⁹ Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991, p. 4.

T. J. Ferguson notes of Patrick Lomawaima interview, p. 5.

Leslie David in T. J. Ferguson, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 5.

advisors realize that Hopi concepts of letting natural erosion take its course may clash with the preservation policies of the National Park Service.⁴¹⁰

In considering the distinction between natural erosion and man-caused erosion in the Grand Canyon, a cultural advisor from Shungopavi concluded that "... nothing is natural in that area now because of the dam itself. If the dam had not been built there ... the natural erosion might not be as bad as we see it today."⁴¹¹ This man thinks Hopi elders understand this, emphasizing this point by noting that "I don't think it really takes the scientist to realize that .. It doesn't take a Ph.D. to understand that."

Hopi cultural advisors who participated in research trips in the Grand Canyon, and were able to make first-hand observations of erosional processes, think that most of the erosion they observed along the main stem of the Colorado River is man-made and caused by the operation of Glen Canyon Dam.⁴¹² They contrasted the erosion of beaches on the Colorado River with erosion in the tributary drainages, much of which appeared to them to be due to natural causes. One cultural advisor thought the man-made erosion of beaches on the Colorado River is "obvious" to anyone who takes a raft trip through the Grand Canyon. This advisor was disturbed by what he saw and said "... there should be some kind of control and respect for that area."⁴¹³

In addition to the obvious erosion caused by fluctuation in water released from the Glen Canyon Dam, Hopi cultural advisors suggested that the use of trails and degradation of vegetation are additional sources of erosion in the Grand Canyon related to human land use. The consensus of the Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team and many other Hopi consultants is that the Hopis are concerned about the man-made erosion of beaches in the Grand Canyon and that something needs to be done to prevent further erosion and restore the beaches that have been damaged.⁴¹⁴ As a cultural

⁴¹⁰ Hopi cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 5.

Hopi cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 6.

⁴¹¹ Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 23.

⁴¹² Ronald Humeyestewa interview, June 3, 1994, p. 2.

⁴¹³ Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1993, p. 18.

⁴¹⁴ Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 23-24.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, July 17, 1991, p. 20.

Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 5.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 65.

Vivian Poocha interview, August 1, 1991, p. 3.

Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, pp. 28-29.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 49.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, p. 8.

Orville Hongeva and Gilbert Naseyouma interview, July 7, 1992, p. 4.

Dalton Taylor interview, July 7, 1993, pp. 1-2.

advisor from First Mesa said "There is a reason and a purpose for the sand to be here. Its not meant to wash away from a man-made dam."⁴¹⁵

Cultural advisors who have seen or heard about erosion in the lower stretch of the Little Colorado River are concerned about the impact of this erosion on the *Sipapuni*. These cultural advisors think that the *Sipapuni* and the Little Colorado River should be protected from further damage by erosion.⁴¹⁶

A cultural advisor from Shungopavi noted that land management and water control can either be technical in the modern sense of the term or more informal in the traditional sense of being a caretaker and steward of the land. This cultural advisor thought it was ironic that modern forms of land management and water control, like the Glen Canyon Dam, lead to erosion and a loss of control over the landscape that makes it difficult to rehabilitate damaged landscapes.⁴¹⁷

In undertaking rehabilitation projects to treat erosional problems in the Grand Canyon, Hopi cultural advisors suggested that traditional Puebloan erosion control strategies should be employed.⁴¹⁸ Cultural advisors also suggested that that protection and proper management of the riparian zone in the Grand Canyon will reduce problems with erosion since the riparian zone vegetation keeps soil in place.⁴¹⁹

SUMMARY

The information presented in this chapter documents that the Hopi have a detailed knowledge of many of the plants and animals that occur in the Grand Canyon. These plants and animals have cultural importance for the Hopi, who consider themselves to be stewards charged with looking after the welfare of these biological and natural resources. The endangerment of species and erosion of beach sediments related to the operation of the Glen Canyon Dam are of concern to Hopi people. The Hopi people think the natural resources of the Grand Canyon are precious and should be protected.

⁴¹⁵ Leslie David in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 5.

⁴¹⁶ Eric Polingyouma, June 18, 1991, p. 74.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 47.

⁴¹⁷ Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 20.

⁴¹⁸ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 4-5.

⁴¹⁹ Eric Polingyouma, June 18, 1991, p. 69.

CHAPTER 9

HOPI VIEWS ABOUT ANCESTRAL SITES, CULTURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT, AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE GRAND CANYON

During interviews and field work for the GCES project, information was collected about Hopi values concerning cultural resources, their management, and archaeological research in the Grand Canyon. This information is presented in this chapter.

Archaeologists who have worked in the Grand Canyon think the archaeological record evidences a Hopi presence in the canyon from at least AD 1200 to the present (Schwartz n.d.:14, 1966:476-481). Prior to AD 1200, archaeologists suggest the Hopi were part of a more generalized prehistoric Puebloan culture in the Grand Canyon that began prior to AD 700, and which had earlier roots in the Archaic dating back to 2000 BC. A detailed review of Puebloan and Hopi archaeology in the Grand Canyon has been provided by Ahlstrom et al. (1993), and recapitulation of this information is beyond the purview of this ethnohistorical report.

An archaeological survey of 225 miles of the Colorado River by the National Park Service located 475 archaeological sites within the GCES project area. During this survey, the National Park Service identified ancestral Hopi artifacts in Reaches 0, 1, 4, 5, 10, and 11 of the river corridor (Fairley et al. 1994: 110). Based on a review of the site documentation, the Hopi Tribe claims cultural affinity with at least 235 of the 475 archaeological sites in the GCES corridor (Masayesva 1992). The Hopi Tribe considers these 235 archaeological resources to be ancestral sites. During ethnohistoric field work, it was only possible to visit a sample of these 235 archaeological sites. Much of the cultural information collected during the field research, however, pertains to all of the Hopi ancestral sites in the Grand Canyon and it is this categorical information that is presented in this chapter.

An archaeological survey of the lower Little Colorado River was undertaken by Michael Yeatts (1995) for the GCES project. This survey documented a total of 11 cultural resources, including 5 archaeological sites, 5 isolated artifacts, and 6 Hopi traditional cultural properties. As with the archaeology of the main stem of the Colorado River, a detailed review of the archaeological data presented by Yeatts (1995) is beyond the purview of this ethnohistorical report.

THE CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF *HISATSINOM* SITES IN THE GRAND CANYON

In the Hopi language, the word *Hisatsinom* is used to refer to the prehistoric Puebloan ancestors of the contemporary Hopi people.⁴²⁰ *Hisat* means "long ago," *sinom* means "people," so the term literally means "people of long ago." It can also be glossed as "our ancestors." The term *Hisatsinom* is plural, while the term *Hisatsino* is singular. Hopi Cultural advisors who have inspected

⁴²⁰ Leigh Jenkins and Merwin Kooyahoema in T. J. Ferguson, Notes taken during the Meeting of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, April 18, 1991, Hopi Cultural Center, Second Mesa, Arizona, p. 11. Ms. on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, April 18, 1991.]

prehistoric Puebloan archaeological sites in the Grand Canyon have concluded these are *Hisatsinom* sites (Figure 34).⁴²¹

Hopi cultural advisors discussed *Hisatsinom* archaeological sites in the Grand Canyon in the context of ancestral villages, shrines, ceremonial architecture, petroglyphs and pictographs, agricultural areas and granaries, roasting pits, and other sites.

Ancestral Villages in the Grand Canyon

The historical and cultural connections between the Hopi and the prehistoric Puebloan villages in the Grand Canyon have been recognized by archaeologists. Schwartz (n.d.:67) concluded that the archaeological record indicated that the prehistoric Puebloan people who left the Grand Canyon "... moved east and became part of the ancestral line of the Hopi Indians, profoundly influencing the development of Hopi cosmology." He suggested that the variety seen in Hopi oral traditions derives from the fact that many different prehistoric groups migrated to the Hopi Mesas. In discussing this relationship, Schwartz (n.d.:69) concluded that,

Like many groups, the Canyon Anasazi probably mixed into early Hopi society and culture, contributing their share of rites and deities to Hopi religion. For historically, references to the Grand Canyon as a sacred place are woven throughout Hopi cosmology and ceremonial practices. The reconstruction of the religion of any prehistoric culture is difficult, at best, but suggestions of what impact the Grand Canyon Anasazi may have made on the Hopis can be found in four separate but related areas: the Hopi myth of emergence, their deity Maasaw, their journey to the earth's navel, and some of their customs associated with death.

The Hopi believe that the "ruins" that archaeologists and the general public think of as remnants of the distant past in the Grand Canyon are still inhabited by the spirits of Hopi ancestors. Given this belief, Ferrell Secakuku has said, "My recommendation to the (Hopi) Cultural Preservation Office is that we not call them ruins, since they're a part of a living culture ... I'd like to call them ancestral villages" (Schill 1993:13).

Anthropologists have also described how the Hopi believe their ancestors are associated with archaeological sites in the manner described by Secakuku. In writing about the Hopi, for instance, Eggan (1994:14) observed that,

Archaeological sites, representing the former homes of particular clans, are sacred areas that are visited periodically to make offerings to ancestors, with requests for aid in growing crops. Nearby ruins are visited in connection with particular ceremonies to notify the deceased relatives buried there that the ceremony is in progress and the dead should do their part.

⁴²¹ Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 11.

Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 15.

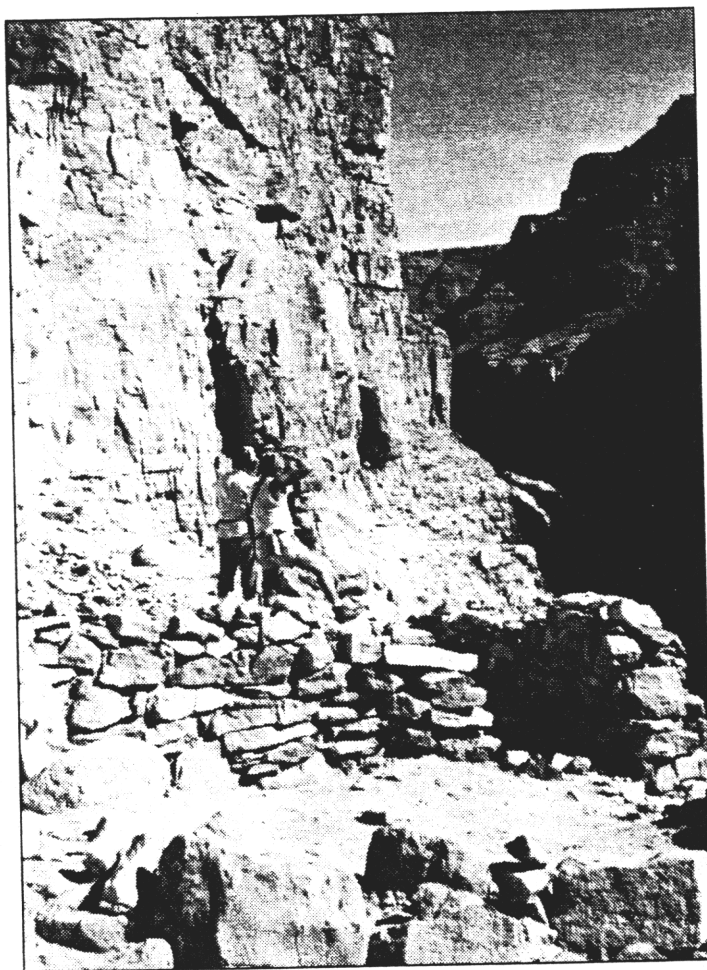


Figure 34. Hopi cultural advisors examine *Hisatsinom* archaeological site (C:5:1) at South Canyon, River Mile 31.5, in the Grand Canyon. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, October 2, 1993.

Hopi cultural advisors who participated in GCES river trips reported that they could feel the presence of their ancestors while traveling through the Grand Canyon and visiting *Hisatsinom* villages. For instance, a cultural advisor from Oraibi, reported, " ... like I said I'm never alone. I have that feeling all day, every day. I have that feeling."⁴²² The knowledge that their ancestors watch them while they are in the Grand Canyon imbues expeditions to *Öngtupqa* with a powerful spiritual aspect. This includes GCES river trips as well as traditional pilgrimages.

A cultural advisor from Shungopavi stated that he places a great value on the *Hisatsinom* villages and potsherds in the Grand Canyon.⁴²³ He explained that these sites were left to "pay" for

⁴²² Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1993, pp. 17-18.

⁴²³ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 45.

the settlement and use of this area, and this is why these ancestral cultural resources should be protected.

A Hopi from Shipaulovi discussed the values contemporary Hopi have for *Hisatsinom* archaeology by stating (Secakuku 1993:9),

The Hopi way of measuring the value of cultural resources and other so-called artifacts is not in terms of money. Rather it is their importance for life today and their future destiny. The future of the Hopi is a great burden to them because we must live a life of spiritual meditation and humbleness in order to take this corrupt world, which will get worse, into the better world. Yes, we believe in the fifth world and our spiritual integrity must be strong to keep our ruined villages alive. Our houses, [kivas], and our shrines at the ruined village perimeters must be kept warm and active. We rely on our spiritual ancestors who passed this way and are still there to receive the messages.

Hopi cultural advisors said the *Hisatsinom* archaeology in the Grand Canyon is important to them personally, even if they do not physically visit those archaeological sites.⁴²⁴ A cultural advisor from Oraibi explained, "Those things are still important to us, old people who believe and respect them."⁴²⁵ An advisor from Bacavi added, *Hisatsinom* sites in the Grand Canyon are,⁴²⁶

... very important to me as a person, as a Hopi individual, because ... I'm a strong believer that I am a descendent of those people. And who knows, maybe my clan have village down there. I do know we traveled through that area and [there] may be something that may at some point some way be verified to tie into my clan. Through the study of petroglyphs, through the study of ritual objects, things like that, may turn out to tell me someday that this particular site was in fact once inhabited by my people. So ... I don't go down to the canyon to visit there regularly [but] I think I have a very close emotional tie with those areas.

Another reason *Hisatsinom* sites in the Grand Canyon are important to the Hopi is the fact that Hopi ancestors are buried in many of these archaeological sites. In this regard, a cultural advisor from Hotevilla said, "there are reasons for all of these ruins, down there. There are reasons for people being left there ... Their souls are there; those are the beginning of the first of the migrations."⁴²⁷ Expressing a similar idea, an advisor from Shungopavi said, "Even if I don't go to these ruins, people who lived before us live in those areas and we respect them. If they bury them right there on those sites, we respect them because they lived here before us."⁴²⁸

⁴²⁴ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 48.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 21-22.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 36.

⁴²⁵ Simon Polingyumptewa interview, July 30, 1991, p. 15.

⁴²⁶ Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 26.

⁴²⁷ Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, p. 12.

⁴²⁸ Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, p. 22.

An advisor from Bacavi explained why the disturbance of *Hisatsinom* graves in the Grand Canyon and elsewhere is of concern to the Hopi. He said,⁴²⁹

See, the canyon itself is seen as a final spiritual resting place for people who have gone, you know, who have died. And, the concept of this final travel is pretty profound because, of course, on the fourth day, your spirit is released into the spirit world, and your body remains in the earth to continue its final, physical journey, too, they say. To finally [go] to where we all came from, the earth. That's the creation story. So the body put into the earth is still on its final physical journey. That's why, I think, when we have to deal with the extraction of human remains, it doesn't make Hopis feel good ... about exhumations, about disturbance of burials. A disturbance of the final physical journey of a body is a desecration.

Shrines and Offering Places

Hopi shrines are places where sacred offerings are deposited or ritual objects are set up (Fewkes 1910:558). Shrines play an essential role in the Hopi religion. Most non-Indians view religious places such as churches or shrines as symbolic of a universal being. For the Hopi, however, as Masayesva (1994:94) explained, "... places and things here on earth often are more than symbols. God may actually be present in places or things here on earth." In Masayesva's (1994:96) opinion, "The time has come when protection of Indian religious rights must also become a reality under the First Amendment." In Masayesva's opinion, one way to protect Indian religious rites is to protect Indian shrines.

Many Hopi shrines are located at places determined by deities in ancient times. With respect to the importance of place in the Hopi religion, Dongoske, Jenkins and Ferguson (1994:13) explained that,

Hopi religious practice differs from modern Christianity and other western religions, which typically are not dependent on place. The successful practice of Christianity and the practitioner's resultant sense of spiritual contentment can be achieved irrespective of location. Hopis, on the other hand, must complete certain rituals at specific shrines. The protection of sacred sites and access to them are therefore issues of great importance to the Hopi people.

For the Hopis, Fewkes (1910:558) noted that, "Among those people any special spot consecrated to supernatural beings, where prayer offerings are made, is called a *pahoki*, or 'prayer house,' generally translated 'shrine.' ... A Hopi shrine differs from an altar in being a place in which the offerings remain permanently, or until they or their essence are supposed to be removed by the gods." In describing the physical characteristics of shrines, Fewkes (p. 558) added,

Every great ceremony has its special shrine, but in some of them prayer offerings are made in all ceremonies. Many shrines have nothing to mark them except prayer sticks ... Common forms of shrines are circles of small stones or even a single stone, caves, or clefts, a natural depression in a boulder, or any object symbolically marked. The most elaborate shrines are sealed stone enclosures, sometimes painted

⁴²⁹ Leigh Jenkins interview, August 26, 1992, p. 7.

with symbols, and containing symbolic representations of supernatural beings, idols, water-worn stones, or fossils. Shrines may be classified either on the basis of their form and contents or on that of the supernatural beings to which they are dedicated. Of the latter, among the Hopi, there are those of the Earth and Sky gods, Kachina shrines, and shrines of numerous lesser supernatural beings.

Fewkes briefly described several of the more than 100 shrines in the vicinity of First Mesa. He noted (p. 559) that,

Human or animal images of wood and stone, concretionary or botryoidal stones, carved stone slabs, and fossil shells are among the permanent objects, not offerings, found in Hopi shrines. The temporary offerings on shrines are prayer meal and pollen, sticks, clay effigies of small animals, miniature bowls and vases of water, small bows and arrows, small dolls, turquoise, shells, and other objects.

Some shrines are known by the character of their offerings; thus, a warrior's shrine contains netted shields, bows, and arrows; an eagle shrine, painted wooden imitations of eagle's eggs. Places where ceremonial paraphernalia are kept partake of the sacred nature of a shrine, and caves resorted to for prayer are considered in the same light. All springs of water are places of prayer offerings, and each has a shrine either near by or remote.

Hopi shrines and offering places thus range from well-constructed *pahoki* to more subtle natural features. From the Hopi perspective, the most important value of shrines is spiritual, and this spiritual value is determined by religious factors, not the physical character of the shrine as perceived by archaeologists. It should be noted, as Fewkes observed in 1906, that even if shrines are represented only by modest archaeological features they are still significant resources for learning about prehistory and history (Fewkes 1906:374-375).

Eggan (1994:13-14) described how the Hopi secure rain and good crops by prayer and offerings. *Paaho* and other ceremonial gifts are offered on altars, at shrines, in springs, and in fields to secure the aid of the katsinas. He explained (Eggan 1994:11),

The Hopi make pilgrimages, usually annually, to clan shrines, eagle shrines, ancestral ruins, salt sources, places associated with the katsinas, and places still kept secret. The Hopi have a large number of shrines ... some associated with the emergence of the Hopi from the underworld in the Grand Canyon, some derived from the experiences of the various clans in their wanderings, some at earlier sites where they lived for a period, and others in and around their present villages, or in neighboring mountains and springs associated with katsinas.

In describing the archaeological manifestation of Hopi shrines, Adams (1986:47) observed,

... a unique aspect of ... most Hopi use areas, are the building of shrines. These can be piles of rock with prayer feathers nearby, and occasionally pottery and stone. Usually, however, they are built of stone slabs. These are placed upright in the ground forming three sides of a square or rectangle, leaving the south or east side open. A fourth slab covers the others. Within the stone box, or shrine, prayer feather offerings are left. Prayer sticks with feathers are made in the kivas and bear prayers to the Hopi deities for favorable conditions for them to grow and thrive.

Some are for fertility and protection and are placed in corrals near the livestock. Other shrines are marked by rock art and the offerings are buried in the earth. These would be impossible to locate without a knowledgeable informant to point them out.

Hopi cultural advisors point out that every Hopi village has an associated shrine.⁴³⁰ In the Hopi way of thinking, this means that every major prehistoric Puebloan archeological site in the Grand Canyon has a shrine. Villages, even those in "ruin," are living things. Every village plaza has a shrine with a depository for the prayer feathers that spiritually integrate the life of the village. The archaeological manifestations of these features should be present in the Grand Canyon.

Anthropologists confirm that a *pahoki* or shrine occurs in every Hopi plaza (Frigout 1979:568). In this regard, Fewkes (1906:360) observed that,

Almost every Hopi pueblo has in the middle of its plaza a shrine that is generally one of the best made of these structures in the neighborhood. These plaza shrines are to two kinds: (1) those whose cavities are sunk below the level of the ground and always provided with a stone covering; and (2) those with lateral walls above the surface of the ground, having lateral entrances. Both types are sometimes said to represent symbolically a mythological opening from the under-world through which the races of men emerged.

In the Grand Canyon, Hopi cultural advisors suggest that major shrines may also be located outside of the boundaries of an archaeological site as mapped by archaeologists.⁴³¹ Hopi cultural advisors note that sometimes shrines look like simple "rock piles" or cairns to archaeologists. Eagle shrine features may take the form of a small pile of stone that designates an offering place.⁴³²

Hopi shrines take many forms. Hopi cultural advisors consider springs to be shrines since they are places where offerings are left. Hopi cultural advisors also suggest that some sites archaeologists call "small structures with artifacts" in the Grand Canyon may, in fact, be shrines.⁴³³ In addition to shrines within archaeological sites, some cultural advisors also consider archaeological sites themselves to be shrines in that they are places where ancestors are buried. These archaeological sites are thus considered sacred sites of concern.⁴³⁴

In managing shrines in areas subject to adverse impacts, the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office maintains that shrines should be protected from any adverse impacts.⁴³⁵ The position of the Hopi Tribe is that damage to shrines and sacred sites cannot be mitigated. The loss of a sacred site means

⁴³⁰ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from Meeting with NPS, June 12, 1991, p. 17.

⁴³¹ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 51-52.

⁴³² Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 39-40.

⁴³³ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 13, 1994, p. 1.

⁴³⁴ Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991, p. 4.

⁴³⁵ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from Meeting with NPS, June 12, 1991, p. 17.

the permanent loss of rituals associated with that site and permanent loss of that portion of Hopi culture.⁴³⁶

The Hopi place a great cultural importance on their shrines. As Former Tribal Chairman Abbott Sekaquaptewa (in Page 1982:626) stated, "... the most important thing is the shrines. The elders say that the shrines are our standards—the way white people raise flags over their territory. Without our shrines, our inheritance, we simply cannot continue as Hopis."

Ceremonial Architecture

Kivas are important ceremonial chambers to the Hopi. Hopi cultural advisors are therefore interested in the recognition criteria archaeologists use in classifying architectural spaces as kivas in the archaeological record.⁴³⁷ Cultural advisors note that archaeologists often classify circular depressions in the surface of prehistoric pueblos as kivas and consider these features to have had ceremonial use. These cultural advisors note, however, that not every depression is a ceremonial kiva. Hopis recommend caution in assigning interpretive labels to architectural spaces in the absence of excavation and intensive data recovery. Interpretations of Hopi prehistory will be misleading if architectural spaces are called kivas when they are not. Hopi history is important and care should be taken in labeling features as ceremonial so the full ritual context is respected and accurately described.

Hopi traditions describe ceremonial cisterns in addition to kivas.⁴³⁸ In times of trouble, ceremonial cisterns figured prominently in calling forth rain and water. Forces of nature are sought and answered in prayers made in ceremonial cisterns. Cisterns should have archaeological evidence of having contained water.

Hopis also point out that the ventilator feature and ash pits that archaeologists sometimes use as diagnostic features of kivas also occur in other structures. Ventilators are sometimes constructed in Hopi corn storage rooms, and rooms used to prepare *piiki* or other food also have a place to store ash.⁴³⁹

Trail Markers

Hopi cultural advisors noted that trail markers should appear at intervals along Hopi trails in the Grand Canyon.⁴⁴⁰ Cairns or rock piles are constructed to mark locations along trails. According

⁴³⁶ Kurt Dongoske in Jane Bremner, Notes taken during the Meeting of the Native American Cultural Resources Group, June 12, 1991, p. 2. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as Jane Bremner, Notes, June 12, 1991.]

⁴³⁷ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, pp. 15-16.

⁴³⁸ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 51-53.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, pp. 15-16.

⁴³⁹ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 51-53

⁴⁴⁰ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, July 17, 1991, p. 9.

Leigh Jenkins and Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 29.

to one report, Hopis on expeditions in the Grand Canyon would pick up rocks and place them on a rock pile for a ceremonial purpose. Once such rock pile seen by a cultural advisor also contained grinding stones that had been placed there. In addition, offering places and shrines that may look like cairns will also mark trails. A regional perspective is needed to correctly interpret "rock piles" that are trail markers. Hopis suggest that archaeologists should not consider these archaeological features only as isolated occurrences. An accurate interpretation of trail markers can only be undertaken by tracing their linear connections in a regional context.

Petroglyphs and Pictographs

The generic Hopi term for petroglyphs and pictographs is *tutuveni*.⁴⁴¹ *Peeni* (or *peeni*) is glossed as "writing," so the Hopi term *tutuveni* is interpreted to mean "their marks" (McCreery and Malotki 1994). Hopi cultural advisors note that they interpret rock art by reference to Hopi teachings.⁴⁴² The petroglyphs and pictographs in the Grand Canyon are therefore fascinating and meaningful aspects of the archaeological record that Hopis value greatly because they are signs left by their ancestors.

Hopi petroglyphs dating from the period AD 1300 to the present have been recorded in the Glen Canyon stretch of the Colorado River (Turner 1963:5-6). Turner concluded that these petroglyphs are linked to revisitation of the canyon by Hopis, and thought this interpretation is supported by the presence of Hopi yellow ware sherds.

Foster (1954:15) observed that petroglyphs found in Glen Canyon are similar to Hopi clan symbols. Foster found two petroglyphs in particular at archaeological site NA 5369 that are reminiscent of the Hopi Red Ant and the Reed clan symbol.⁴⁴³ Similarly, Turner (1963:27-28) found that the Water Clan, Snake Clan, and Reed Clans have ethnographically documented totemic symbols that are similar to the petroglyphs found in Glen Canyon.

Based on the analysis of petroglyphs, Turner (1963:32) concluded there is a direct cultural relationship between the prehistoric Puebloan occupants of Glen Canyon and the Hopis. Turner (1963:41) stated,

Through Hopi informants, written records of Hopi traditions, and study of the Glen Canyon region petroglyphs, a conclusion was reached that the Spider, Water, Titmouse, and possibly the Reed and Snake clans could have been familiar with the occupation of the Glen Canyon region between A.D. 1050-1200. These clans are implicated with the prehistoric occupation remains, both within the major river canyon systems and the pueblo centers in the southern Navajo uplands and adjacent river canyon mesas. It is not felt these clans were involved solely in the more recent Pueblo IV revisitation of Glen and San Juan Canyons.

⁴⁴¹ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 13.

⁴⁴² Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 13.

⁴⁴³ Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma notes that the Red Ant is an important figure in the emergence narratives but is not a Hopi clan per se.

Hopis, like archaeologists (Adams 1986:20-21), recognize that prehistoric and historic petroglyphs and pictographs indicate Hopi use of the landscape. As Leigh Jenkins expressed it, petroglyphs "demonstrate and validate the Hopi claim to aboriginal presence in the Four Corners area" (Widdison 1991:32).

Many cultural advisors interpret the petroglyphs in the Grand Canyon as clan marks that evidence the migration of Hopi ancestors through the area or the use of particular trails.⁴⁴⁴ Some hand prints are sometimes interpreted as marks made by clan leaders to mark the lands that belonged to their clan. Glyphs of four concentric circles, called *potaveni*, are a common symbol depicting Hopi migration (Malotki and Lomatuway'ma 1987:28), and this migration implies clans were present (Fewkes 1897:3).

Isolated hand prints can signify a variety of things in addition to clan symbols.⁴⁴⁵ It has been suggested that some pictographs and petroglyphs in the Grand Canyon may be stewardship markers for clan land holdings.⁴⁴⁶ Petroglyphs are occasionally used for this purpose on the Hopi Mesas. However, more knowledge is needed about the specific geographical and historical context of land use in order to securely interpret any particular petroglyph in the Grand Canyon as a boundary marker.

There is no universal agreement among Hopis on how to interpret petroglyphs (Kaiser 1990:69). Hopi cultural advisors note there can be multiple interpretations of petroglyphs, all equally valid.⁴⁴⁷ People from different villages may have different interpretations based on esoteric knowledge specific to their community. Research concerning petroglyphs and pictographs is made difficult because many cultural advisors do not feel comfortable talking about their interpretations of petroglyphs and pictographs when non-Indians are present, and won't reveal the true meaning of these glyphs. Some Hopis think that some glyphs are supposed to remain a mystery, and that other

⁴⁴⁴ Eldridge Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, pp. 1-2.

Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 10.

Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, p. 25.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes Taken During the Meeting of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, May 27, 1994, Mishongnovi Community Center, Second Mesa, Arizona, p. 2. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 27, 1994.]

Owen Numkena interview, July 3, 1994, p. 1.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes of Zuni-Hopi CRATT Meeting, April 8, 1994, p. 3.

⁴⁴⁵ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 41-42.

⁴⁴⁶ Victor Masayesva in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 8.

⁴⁴⁷ Ronald Humeyestewa interview, June 3, 1994, p. 3.

Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 13.

glyphs may simply be children's games.⁴⁴⁸ Some petroglyphs and pictographs may just be rock *art* and not ritually meaningful symbols.⁴⁴⁹

During GCES field research, one cultural advisor described the process of interpreting petroglyphs and pictographs in the Grand Canyon by explaining that the Hopis were asking each other what the petroglyphs mean and learning from one another.⁴⁵⁰ The sharing of information between tribal members was obviously an important part of the interpretive dynamic. The glyphs represented the past but the interpretations made sense of the present.

Some petroglyphs are symbolic and tied to ritual rather than simply representing clan signs or animals per se. A petroglyph of a rabbit, for instance, may be clan symbol but it may have also simply represented a successful hunt, or even the spirit of the animal depicted. Ultimately, a satisfactory scholarly interpretation of petroglyphs and pictographs will require the intensive study of individual glyphs in relation to adjacent symbols, and in relation to their regional context.

A detailed knowledge of Hopi clan history is also a prerequisite to the correct interpretation of petroglyphs as clan symbols.⁴⁵¹ For instance, the Lizard Clan migrated to the Hopi Mesas as the Lizard Clan but they became the Sand Clan after their arrival at Hopi. Through the exercise of the ritual duty of getting sand, the Lizard people came to see themselves as Sand Clan. The knowledge that there are really two Lizard Clans, one early and one late, is needed in order to properly evaluate the geographical and temporal context of glyphs interpreted to be Lizard Clan symbols.

Regardless of interpretative issues, it is clear that the petroglyphs and pictographs in the Grand Canyon are meaningful for many Hopi people. In describing a river trip he made with Bureau of Reclamation and National Park Service officials, for instance, the Chairman of the Hopi Tribe reported,⁴⁵²

And when I went to see the petroglyphs I already recognized it right away. Because knowing what I have learned from my uncles, that we do have some places down there that we have stayed as we traveled the river. You have probably heard about the Tiyo ... but there are other times that we went down through there. And these are the places where, I guess, we rested for several days. And these are the places where we stayed to recuperate and then, then also gain, gather food from the other, from the top, and then we went on. But this place was definitely a Snake Clan place were it has a snake petroglyphs on there. And then it also have a petroglyph of the Lizard Man. And much of the Horny Toad.

And then it also had migration pattern there. And then that is what I explained as being the four worlds and then how I explained that to them. And that's what we

⁴⁴⁸ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 49.

⁴⁴⁹ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 33-34.

⁴⁵⁰ Wilmer Joshevama in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 16.

⁴⁵¹ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 33-34)

⁴⁵² Ferrell Secakuku, Oral Report to CRATT, August 25, 1994, pp. 4-5.

believe then, that is still the basis of our culture and our religion and that is what we practice during this Men's Ceremony that we call the *Wuwtsim*. And then I explained to them about the different societies, the four societies that we have — the One Horn, Two Horn, the Singers, and [the *Wuwtsim*].

For many Hopi people, the petroglyphs and pictographs in the Grand Canyon provide definite evidence that their ancestors inhabited this area in the past.⁴⁵³ These symbols mark Hopi ancestral sites. As a cultural advisor from Shungopavi said, "What our old folks tell us to look for if we ever go to any ruins or sites is a circle like a plaque. A spiral. Look for that, if you find it that tells you our people was there."⁴⁵⁴

Agricultural Areas and Granaries

Hopi cultural advisors think one reason the Grand Canyon was occupied by Hopi ancestors was because of its water resources.⁴⁵⁵ The people who lived in prehistoric Pueblo villages in the Grand Canyon raised crops using that water. During their travel through the Grand Canyon, the Hopi ancestors had to stop and raise crops. The *Hisatsinom* also farmed on the rim as well as in the bottom of the Grand Canyon.⁴⁵⁶

One cultural advisor who observed pumpkin seeds and other seeds at the granaries at Nankoweap said this was obvious evidence that the people who lived there had been farmers (Figure 35).⁴⁵⁷ Another cultural advisor said that the *Hisatsinom* left seeds at Nankoweap and other granaries as a symbolic act because they expected other clans to come in and use the area after they left.⁴⁵⁸ Hopis are instructed to leave things for the people who will follow them.⁴⁵⁹ For instance, some Hopi farmers will bury a jar of seeds in their field house at their farm fields for whoever comes later. This behavior is reminiscent of the seeds left in the granaries in the Grand Canyon

Hopi cultural advisors conducting research in the Grand Canyon pointed out that one sign that an area has productive farmland is the growth of *suwvi* (Salt Bush) or *de'eva* (Greasewood) in sandy

⁴⁵³ Leslie David in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 13.

Interview with First Mesa Elders, November 13, 1991, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁴ Dalton Taylor interview, November 13, 1992, p. 8.

⁴⁵⁵ T. J. Ferguson notes from LaVern Siweupmptewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991, p. 6.

⁴⁵⁶ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 48.

⁴⁵⁷ Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, p. 17.

⁴⁵⁸ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes Taken during the Meeting of the Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, December 14, 1992, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, p. 12. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, December 14, 1992.]

⁴⁵⁹ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Meeting with the NPS, June 12, 1991, p. 19.

soil.⁴⁶⁰ Also, anyplace that *sivapi* (Rabbitbrush) grows is also a good place for farming. These cultural advisors say there are many areas that meet this criteria in the Grand Canyon.

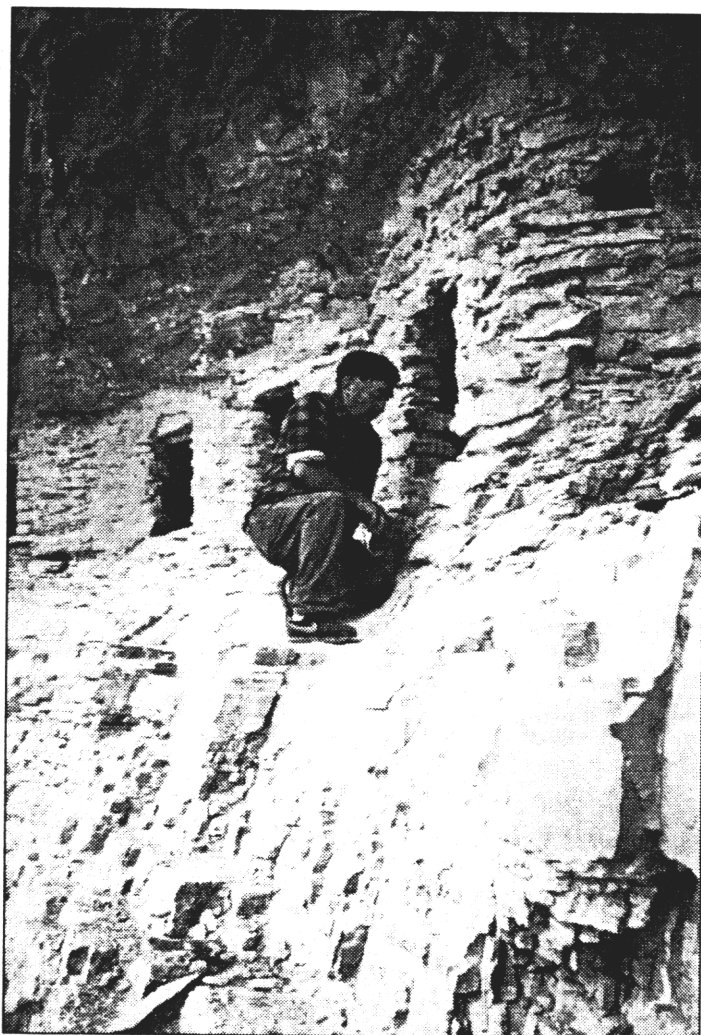


Figure 35. Ronald Humeyestewa inspecting granaries at Nankoweap, River Mile 53. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, April 28, 1994.

Roasting Pits and Cooking Pits

Hopis participating in field work in the Grand Canyon saw many archaeological sites with what archaeologists called "roasting pits." This classification generated discussion among the Hopi cultural advisors, who thought that from the Hopi perspective these pits are more accurately

⁴⁶⁰ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 4.

characterized as "cooking pits."⁴⁶¹ At Hopi, roasting entails cooking vegetables like corn on the surface. Baking entails putting them in underground pits. From a Hopi perspective, roasting is more efficient for small quantities of foodstuff because it takes less time and preparation. Cooking requires more preparation and permanent facilities but these facilities may be used many times for large quantities of food, and can also serve other purposes.

In the Hopi language, a cooking pit is called *tumqöpqö*. *Tum* means "flat, hard rocks," *qöpqö* means "oven." *Tuupe'* means "to cook." When roasting corn at Hopi, a pit ringed with stone is constructed, a fire is built, and corn is laid all around it. *Tu'tsi* is roasted corn, *Tu'tsa* is the process of roasting corn.

Hopi cultural advisors realize that most of the *tumqöpqö* (cooking pits) in the Grand Canyon were used for baking agave. However, Hopi cultural advisors suggested these features may have also been used for two other uses in addition to agave cooking: (1) roasting meat from small game or rabbits obtained during ritual rabbit hunts; (2) heating stones that would then be covered with sand to provide a warm sleeping platform.⁴⁶² Similar pits are used for these purposes at Hopi, as well as for heat processing pinyon pine cones to release the pinyon nuts from them.

The classic morphology of roasting or cooking pits was understood by Hopi cultural advisors in relation to archaeological formation processes, i.e., the ring of discarded fire-cracked rock, surrounding a center with larger stones marking where the pit is. Cultural advisors, noted, however, that if no stone is present where you want to cook something, you can simply dig a trench and fill it with hot sand and coals.⁴⁶³ This technique is commonly used for processing pinyon cones.

In considering cooking pit sites, Hopi cultural advisors noted that there are more interpretations for archaeological sites than simply functional ones.⁴⁶⁴ For instance, Hopis believe their ancestors were required to lay their "footprints" on the landscape. While utilitarian explanations for archaeological sites are not dismissed, the Hopis point out that there can also be additional, more culturally meaningful explanations that relate to their pact with *Ma'saw*.

Other Sites

In addition to the sites located by the National Park Service during the GCES survey of the Colorado River, the Hopi are interested in all *Hisatsinom* sites related to Puebloan use of the Grand Canyon. In this regard, it is noted that Reilly (1973) described a cave on the south rim of Marble Canyon that is associated with Indian traditions about its use as a refuge. As reported by Reilly, these traditions vary with who is narrating the account. Reilly (1973:46) stated,

Various Indians had different identities for the people involved in the legend but the general theme was the same: one group pursued another which sought refuge in the cave; the first group then waited at the cave entrance and waited for those within to

⁴⁶¹ Leigh Jenkins and Bradley Balenquah in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 60.

⁴⁶² Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 46, 50-52

⁴⁶³ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 56-57.

⁴⁶⁴ Water Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 56-57.

emerge. Later in the vigil the quarry group was seen near the opposite rim of the gorge and it was deduced that the cave led under the river, allowing the intended victims to escape. Some versions of the story had Navajos chasing Paiutes, while others had Navajos pursuing Hopis. One told of Hopis fleeing from Paiutes.

This cave contained cane arrows, two *paaho*, juniper bark torches, three Kana-a Gray ceramic vessels containing bundles of twine, and human feces. On the basis of these artifacts, and a Hopi eagle shrine that is documented in the vicinity, Reilly (1973:54) suggested the cave is a Hopi shrine, and that the cordage and wands found in the cave were part of owl snares. He suggested the Hopi visited the cave to procure feathers for making *paaho*. Reilly concludes this use pre-dates the entry of the Paiute and Navajos into the region.

Archaeological Sites as Monuments of Hopi History

The idea that ancestral archaeological sites are monuments or flags that demarcate *Hopituskwa* is pervasive in Hopi culture (Banyacya 1966; Lomayaktewa et al. 1971; Yava 1978:71; The Hopi Tribe n.d.c; Jenkins in Widdison 1991:32). For instance, in a letter from the "Representatives of the Hopi Empire" to President Harry Truman in 1949, it is stated, "This land is a sacred home to the Hopi people ... Our flag still flies throughout our land (our ancient ruins)" (Talahaftewa et al 1949; Geertz 1994:441-446). This letter was signed by the "hereditary Hopi Chieftains of the Hopi Pueblos of Hotevilla, Shungopovy, and Mushongnovi" and contains a list of twenty other Hopis who supported the statement.

As Clemmer (1993:86) observed, "... the Hopis identify their ancestral dwelling places as much by symbols etched into rock and architectural ruins as by clan legends and traditions. In a sense, knowledgeable Hopis "read" an archaeological landscape with reference to the fundamental principles of their cosmological system." He further explained that the ancestral settlements of the Hopis reflect the various Hopi *wuwutchim* or spiritual plans. Clemmer (1993:85) concluded, "Thus the ruins and rock writings identifiable with these *wuwutchim* are a kind of 'road map' of the Hopi spiritual progress through the universe ... to the point where the Hopis ... received instructions from Massaw on how to live and how to play their part in keeping the universe's energy forces in balance in the Hopi [Tusqua]."

Hopi leaders continue to articulate the belief that archaeological sites are monuments of Hopi history. Ferrell Secakuku (1993:9), for example, explained in remarks at the National Interagency Wilderness Conference in 1993 that,

Hopis do not view cultural resources, such as ruins, as abandoned or as artifacts of the past. To a Hopi, these villages were left as is when the people were given a sign to move on. These homes, [kivas], storehouses, and everything else that makes a community, were left exactly as they were because it is our belief the Hopi will someday return. Our people are still there. Today the Hopi designate these ruins as a symbol or their sovereign flag. Potsherds are left in abundance, usually broken into small pieces with the trademarks showing. These are the footprints of the occupants. Hopis believe that ruins should remain untouched because when anything is taken it breaks down the value of holding the village in place ... Hopi prophecy recognizes these cultural resources as part of today's living culture. They indeed should be protected for the future of our people ...

Cultural advisors for the GCES project express the same view. A man from Shungopavi said,⁴⁶⁵

... those old folks are the ones telling me that someday these ruins and broken pottery are going to be really something to our people. The late-comers, you know, once they establish a home they exploit the land so far around the village and claim it. So they used to tell me, that Pahaana when they capture another town they put their flag up. And that's our flag, the ruins, they left those ruins to stand for us so that we can get our land up to that area one day.

This man thinks that burial sites and ancestral villages are to the Hopis what the Star Spangled Banner is to other Americans. In another interview he said, "I was told not to forget these ancestors ... Even though (the ancestors) are dead, they're still holding onto the land" (Schill 1993:13).

Many other cultural advisors also stated they think of archaeological sites as monuments of Hopi history embedded in and giving cultural meaning to the landscape.⁴⁶⁶ A cultural advisor from Hotevilla, for instance, explained that ancestral sites are important because they are both monuments and the location of graves of ancestors. He said,⁴⁶⁷

They are the monuments of our territorial domain. This is what I have been taught by the old people. They are there for a purpose. And that is to show that. If you get rid of the monument, then there is nothing to show that this is a territorial boundary of the pueblo clans. The other thing is that they left primarily old people when they moved on, but of course always with some younger people to look after the older people. The reason they left older people was because they did not have the strength to make another move to reestablish themselves. The other reason is that in time their spirits would be the guardians of those places

... because their spirits, although they are not residing in the remains anymore, they continue to return there, and they abide in the general area where these sites are located. And that's the purpose. They are the guardians of those ancient places. And those are from the religious belief system, my reasons [why sites need protection].

⁴⁶⁵ Dalton Taylor interview, January 22, 1992, p. 9.

⁴⁶⁶ Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, August 1, 1991, p. 3.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 33.

Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, pp. 31-32, 37.

Eljean Joshevama interview form, July 17, 1991, p. 3.

Vernon Masayesva interview, August 28, 1991, pp. 4-5.

Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 5.

⁴⁶⁷ Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, January 21, 1992, pp. 8-9.

MANAGEMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

The Hopi place a great value on the *Hisatsinom* sites in the Grand Canyon, and think these cultural resources should be managed to protect them from damage or loss. As Leigh Jenkins, the Director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, said,⁴⁶⁸

I can look at it from a contemporary standpoint in a sense that in my job as the Tribe's Cultural Preservation Officer I'm a lot more ... knowledgeable about what the past is able to teach us. I see that as a valuable resource to understand and really maybe verify Hopi oral traditions. So when I see a site looted, for example, or when I see archeological sites being eroded either naturally or, in this case, with the canyon and the river kind of issues ... I have a sense of personal loss ... Because we ... would lose something that may give us some information about the past of the Hopi people. So I'm a lot more sensitive today prior to my position here. I probably was like many Hopi people. We weren't knowledgeable about what was going on out there because we see sites around here that are still relatively intact. But to go beyond the Hopi reservation into other areas where there's a lot of things happening, then I'm a lot more interested in trying to work to preserve them.

Hopi cultural advisors observed that excavation as a management strategy to mitigate adverse impacts to archaeological sites is controversial at Hopi.⁴⁶⁹ Some Hopi personally think this management strategy is acceptable but other Hopi people don't. The Hopi Cultural Preservation Office and the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team therefore have a process for making decisions based on what individual Hopi people think. Hopi cultural advisors pointed out that archaeological excavation can be dangerous because it may expose some spiritual forces that will hurt people. This is why consultation is needed with Hopi cultural advisors during archaeological research.

The consensus of Hopi cultural advisors is that *Hisatsinom* archaeological sites in Grand Canyon need to be protected from pothunting and vandalism.⁴⁷⁰ Trails through archaeological sites should be rerouted to protect these cultural resources. The general principle Hopi consultants recommend is that adverse impacts to ancestral sites should be avoided. As a last resort, archaeological sites should be recorded, and appropriate and sensitive studies performed before these sites are destroyed.

⁴⁶⁸ Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 25.

⁴⁶⁹ Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁷⁰ Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 8.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 45.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, March 14, 1991, p. 5.

Lee Wayne Lomayestewa interview, July 7, 1993, p. 19.

Lloyd Ami, June 2, 1993, p. 8.

Bradley Balenquah in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 25.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 6.

Human Remains and Grave Goods in Archaeological Sites

One of the most important concerns Hopi cultural advisors have about the management of *Hisatsinom* archaeological sites in the Grand Canyon is the protection of the graves of their ancestors. All the cultural advisors interviewed were in agreement that the graves of their ancestors need to be protected from adverse impacts from human activities, including erosion caused by the Glen Canyon Dam, damage from hiking trails, or vandalism caused by tourists.

If graves are endangered, the reluctant consensus of cultural advisors was that the human remains and grave goods within them should be moved to a nearby location and immediately reburied.⁴⁷¹ A few advisors did not think there should be any osteological study of the human remains if graves were moved to protect them. Other advisors, however, thought that limited, non-destructive osteological analyses to determine cultural affiliation was acceptable if these analyses were done with respect. When non-destructive osteological analyses are warranted, several Hopis said they

⁴⁷¹ Dalton Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 3.

Esther Talayumtewa and Karen Shupla interview, August 1, 1991, p. 3.

Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991, p. 4.

Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 6.

Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, pp. 16-18.

Simon Polingyumtewa interview, July 30, 1991, p. 15.

Harold Polingyumtewa interview, September 30, 1991, p. 5.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 37-39.

Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 24.

Arnold Taylor interview, November 13, 1991, pp. 22, 25.

Anna Silas interview, June 27, 1991, p. 3.

Vivian Poocha interview, August 1, 1991, p. 2.

Eljean Joshevama interview form, July 17, 1991, p. 5.

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 5.

Eric Polingyouma June 18, 1991, pp. 49-50.

Martin Talayumtewa interview, January 16, 1992, p. 5.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, February 3, 1992, p. 2.

Dalton Taylor interview, January 22, 1992, p. 9.

Patrick Lomawaima interview, January 28, 1992, p. 8.

Lee Wayne Lomayestewa interview, July 7, 1993, pp. 20-21.

Lloyd Ami interview, June 2, 1993, p. 9.

Owen Numkena interview, July 3, 1994, p. 2.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, December 13, 1994, p. 4.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 13.

are also interested in learning about age at death, health, and pathology. No Hopis thought the remains of their ancestors should be removed from the Grand Canyon and curated in museums or repositories. In general, Hopi cultural advisors suggested the Glen Canyon Dam should be operated so that there is no adverse impact to ancestral graves caused by man-made erosion. The avoidance of impact to ancestral graves and their in-place protection are better alternatives than the archaeological mitigation of adverse impacts.

A cultural advisor from Hotevilla explained the ambivalent emotions some cultural advisors have towards osteological analysis of human remains. He said,⁴⁷²

Well, that's a tough question. Just thinking about it, most of the guys would rather not. I think that the decision that we have to make is, is it more important to respect the integrity of these remains, you know, their privacy and all those things go with it, and possibly give up the right to acquire scientific proof that would tie us to them. Or do we want to have that scientific proof that these indeed are our ancestral people, and therefore acquiesce to the necessary amount of studies that would be required to do this. But I don't think any of us would be agreeable to having them studied just for the sake of science. I think it has to have these considerations of establishing cultural ties if we are going to consent to it, if we're going to officially endorse or sanction it.

Hopi cultural advisors explained that human remains and the Hopi religion are inseparable, and that burials are used in a way similar to shrines. Rituals need to be conducted to honor the deceased. For this reason, if graves have to be disturbed, it is essential for the Hopi Tribe to be involved in the reburial of the human remains.⁴⁷³ Human remains have spiritual power and only certain Hopi individuals have made personal commitments to deal with reburial issues.

Hopi cultural advisors also explained that all funerary objects belong to the deceased, and that it is important for them to be reinterred with the human remains they are associated with.⁴⁷⁴ Grave goods are offerings that were made to the ancestors buried in archaeological sites, and these grave goods therefore are an essential part of what makes these sites significant. As with human remains, the study of grave goods makes Hopis feel "uneasy." Some Hopis, however, think that grave goods

⁴⁷² Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, January 21, 1992, p. 10.

⁴⁷³ Hopi cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 13, 1994, p. 9.

Hopi cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 27, 1994, p. 10.

⁴⁷⁴ Nat Nutongla interview, July 9, 1991, pp. 18-19.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 40, 51-53.

Eljean Joshevama interview form, July 17, 1991, p. 5.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, pp. 24-25.

Robinson Letseoma and Tom Kahe interview, September 30, 1991, p. 21.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 29-31.

Merwin Kooyahoema July 15, 1991, pp. 34-37.

Ben Nuvamsa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, 1995:12.

should be studied before they are reburied to provide documentation of the Hopi's physical presence in the Grand Canyon. Hopi cultural advisors think that scholarly use of documentation produced during management activities should be restricted, and should only be allowed if the Hopi Tribe approves such use.

A cultural advisor from Oraibi summarized Hopi feelings about the disposition of grave goods by stating,⁴⁷⁵ "It belongs to that ... person who ... is there. And he carries that along with him ... its nobody else's but theirs. And without them, you know, they wouldn't survive in the next world ... that's the ritual part of it ... why they put it there and nobody should touch it." Another cultural advisor from Shungopavi added that that "Burials and properties should not be disturbed or removed. These are the people we left behind and still remember them and pray through them."⁴⁷⁶

The excavation and exhumation of burials constitutes a disturbance of the final physical journey that the body is undergoing to where it came from.⁴⁷⁷ This fact has spiritual implications for Hopi religious leaders as well as administrative implications for the Hopi Tribe's management of *Hisatsinom* archaeological sites.

Curation of Archaeological Resources

During interviews, Hopis were asked about whether non-mortuary artifacts exposed by erosion in the Grand Canyon should be collected or washed away, and if collected, whether they should be studied and reburied, or curated in a museum. Some cultural advisors expressed ambivalence about archaeological study and curation.⁴⁷⁸ They personally thought artifacts eroding out of sites should be collected and saved for study; however they also noted that these artifacts were left there for a reason and from a Hopi perspective it is just as well to let them wash away.

Most cultural advisors agreed that if archaeological resources are not in danger of loss due to erosion, they should not be collected.⁴⁷⁹ Moreover, the Hopis consulted thought that the Bureau of Reclamation and National Park Service should control erosion so that artifacts are not exposed and there is no need to collect them.⁴⁸⁰

Most cultural advisors were guided by the principle that that all *Hisatsinom* artifacts in the Grand Canyon kept as near as possible to their original location to preserve the Hopi presence of long ago. A cultural advisor from Oraibi said, "One shouldn't take anything away from the ruins itself. Everything that's there belongs there. That's part of the protection of the shrine itself. The artifacts

⁴⁷⁵ Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 25.

⁴⁷⁶ Paul Saukie, July 15, 1991, p. 2.

⁴⁷⁷ Leigh Jenkins interview, August 26, 1992, p. 7.

⁴⁷⁸ Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, pp. 31-32.

⁴⁷⁹ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 47.

Nat Nutongla interview, July 9, 1991, p. 22.

⁴⁸⁰ Esther Talayumtewa and Karen Shupla interview, August 1, 1991, p. 3.

belong to the people who are still there."⁴⁸¹ Another cultural advisor from Shungopavi said that artifacts should be stored where they are safe because they are "important to the people coming behind us."⁴⁸² Cultural advisors feel that that archaeological materials mark the Hopi claim to the Grand Canyon, and if they are allowed to wash away there will be nothing to demonstrate that claim.

Given these concerns, many cultural advisors suggested that all artifacts that come from the Grand Canyon should be reburied within the Grand Canyon in a location marked for future reference but kept secret from the public so people won't steal them.⁴⁸³ This is especially important for artifacts that have ritual significance. Other cultural advisors, however, thought that non-mortuary artifacts collected in the Grand Canyon should be curated in a museum in the Grand Canyon National Park to preserve them.⁴⁸⁴

Erosion of Archeological Sites

Hopi cultural advisors who participated in field work in the Grand Canyon report they are concerned about the erosion of *Hisatsinom* archaeological sites that is evident from a first-hand examination.⁴⁸⁵ There was a universal feeling among all cultural advisors that erosion in the Grand Canyon should be controlled so that archaeological sites are not damaged. The Hopi think the villages of their ancestors deserve respect.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸¹ Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 23.

⁴⁸² Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 46-47.

⁴⁸³ Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 4.

Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 6.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 26-27.

Martin Talayumptewa interview, January 16, 1992, p. 4.

Lee Wayne Lomayestewa interview, July 7, 1993, p. 20.

Ronald Humeyestewa interview, June 3, 1994, p. 2.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 14.

⁴⁸⁴ Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 36.

Milland Lomakema July 8, 1991, p. 23.

Owen Numkena interview, July 3, 1994, p. 2.

⁴⁸⁵ Owen Numkena interview, July 3, 1994, p. 2.

Ronald Humeyestewa interview, June 3, 1994, p. 2.

Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 8.

⁴⁸⁶ Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 22.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 24.

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 4.

Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 6.

A cultural advisor from Moenkopi said the erosion "...really bothers the Hopi because everything probably they have around there, they call it landmark, its going to be destroyed."⁴⁸⁷ An advisor from Shungopavi said he thinks the erosion of archaeological sites should be managed, and that the people who are buried in ancestral villages should be allowed to rest their without disturbance from "careless releases of water ... at the dam ..."⁴⁸⁸

Another advisor from Shungopavi offered his opinion that it is wrong for archaeological sites to be eroding from operation of the dam. This advisor said, however, if the erosion is caused by the rain the Hopis ask for and bring, there is not anything wrong with that.⁴⁸⁹

Cultural advisors who discussed Hopi perspectives on erosion noted that the GCES project creates cultural pressure on the Hopi.⁴⁹⁰ The cultural needs of the Hopi have changed in the last ten years. There are now are political and cultural reasons to preserve the physical evidence of the *Hisatsinom* archaeological sites that are being destroyed by soil erosion. In the past, erosion was seen as a natural process but today the Hopi have become more exposed to ecological problems. As a Hopi, you are supposed to let "Mother Nature" take its course. Hopi cultural advisors who conducted field work in the Grand Canyon, however, concluded that much of the soil erosion in the canyon is not natural but is related to the operation of the Glen Canyon Dam. Given this, these cultural advisors think remedial action is needed to protect archaeological sites from erosion. Hopi cultural advisors recommend using Hopi stone masonry techniques in remedial projects to stabilize soil.⁴⁹¹

Leigh Jenkins, the Director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, reported that he thought the tribes should give the Park Archaeologist at the Grand Canyon National Park some administrative

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, pp. 31-33.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, p. 22.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 46-47.

Vivian Poocha interview, August 1, 1991, p. 2.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 36.

Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, August 1, 1991, p. 3.

Anna Silas interview, June 27, 1991, p. 3.

Esther Talayumtewa and Karen Shupla interview, August 1, 1991, p. 3.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 24.

Martin Talayumtewa interview, January 16, 1992, p. 4.

Lee Wayne Lomayestewa interview, July 7, 1993, pp. 17-19.

⁴⁸⁷ Alton Honanhi interview, July 21, 1991, p. 40.

⁴⁸⁸ Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 21.

⁴⁸⁹ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 15.

⁴⁹⁰ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 4-5).

⁴⁹¹ Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 13.

autonomy to deal with erosion of archaeological sites.⁴⁹² This should be done through a Memorandum of Understanding or a letter from the Hopi Chairman to the Superintendent of the park. Such a document could specify what remedial actions could routinely be applied on an interim basis.

Given the rapidity of some erosional processes, the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office thinks the National Park Service needs to have the capability to respond quickly to erosional situations as they are discovered. The Hopi do not want the consultation process to create delays in timely and much needed management of cultural resources.⁴⁹³

HOPi VIEWS ABOUT ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Attitudes towards Archaeology

Many Hopi people have an interest in and respect for archaeological research, even if they don't agree with all aspects of how archaeological research is conducted. As one cultural advisor said, "We're not scientists but we're interested in science."⁴⁹⁴ The Hopi know that *Hisatsinom* archaeological sites are the physical evidence of their claim to *Hopitutskwa* (Hopi land), and they are thus vitally interested in the information archaeologists learn about these sites in their studies. Hopis participating in research in the Grand Canyon, for instance, were interested in what archaeologists had learned from research undertaken at Unkar Delta.⁴⁹⁵

Some Hopi cultural advisors recognize that archaeological sites are important resources for scholarly study by archaeologists, but at the same time these advisors also observe that the very existence of these sites has educational value in Hopi culture.⁴⁹⁶ These sites give value to the Hopi people as well as information to archaeologists. This means that many Hopi think when archaeologists study *Hisatsinom* sites they should consult with the Hopi Tribe to discuss how the methods and techniques of their study may impact Hopi people. One cultural advisor suggested that Hopi cultural monitors should be present during all excavation of *Hisatsinom* sites in the Grand Canyon to identify sensitive features and artifacts.⁴⁹⁷

Many Hopis would like to see a greater balance between Hopi values and archaeological values in the way that archaeological research is conducted and interpreted (Dongoske et al. 1993:24). Some Hopi cultural advisors would like to see Hopi interpretations of the archaeological record presented simultaneously and equitably with archaeological interpretations.⁴⁹⁸ Other advisors think

⁴⁹² Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 43.

⁴⁹³ Hopi cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 27-29.

⁴⁹⁴ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 12.

⁴⁹⁵ Ronald Humeyestewa interview, June 3, 1994, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁹⁶ Esther Talayumptewa and Karen Shupla interview, August 1, 1991, p. 2.

⁴⁹⁷ Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 54.

⁴⁹⁸ Abbott Sekaquaptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, June 13, 1991, p. 4.

that the Hopi should have full access to all databases created during archaeological research.⁴⁹⁹ Other Hopis think that after study the only appropriate disposition of archaeological materials is to return them to their original site for reburial.⁵⁰⁰

The Hopi think they have a lot to offer archaeologists with respect to the functional identification of artifacts, the explanation of cultural patterns evident in the archaeological record, and the relation of Hopi traditional history to archaeological culture history (Dongoske et al. 1993:24-27). Hopi cultural advisors admit, however, that they do not have answers for all questions archaeologists ask.⁵⁰¹ What the Hopis want, therefore, is to help archaeologists solve pieces of the large puzzle of the past.

Some Hopi cultural advisors hope that some day the Hopi people will develop their own archaeology based on Hopi intellectual principles and knowledge. These cultural advisors think that *Hisatsinom* archaeological sites need to be protected so that ancestral cultural resources can be conserved until such time as the Hopi people want to investigate them for their own intellectual purposes. In this regard, a cultural advisor from Hotevilla said,⁵⁰²

... because we know our ritual practices are, and what we use in these rituals and ceremonies, and how they are used, we would know ... how these artifacts that may be there would be placed, and therefore we'd be able to interpret them, because we know why they are placed this way. But we don't have people right now who have training in the dominant society's system of archaeology, you know, excavation and things like that. So, to me, it would be better that they would be left alone as much as possible, totally left alone until we develop a modern technology ourselves. Then we'd have the knowledge of modern technology as well as knowledge of the ritualism, the ceremonialism, and the traditions to support that. Then, we'd be able to more accurately interpret ... the significance of these ancient places.

Hopi Perspectives on Archaeological Classification

Many Hopi people object to the conventional classification of prehistoric Puebloan archaeological materials as "Anasazi."⁵⁰³ These Hopis point out that "Anasazi" is a Navajo term referring to "ancient enemy." Hopi cultural advisors thus consider "Anasazi" to be a derogatory term, and would prefer that it not be applied to their ancestors. The Hopi Cultural Preservation

⁴⁹⁹ Ben Nuvamsa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 7.

⁵⁰⁰ Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991, p. 4.

⁵⁰¹ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 55.

⁵⁰² Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, January 21, 1992, p. 9.

⁵⁰³ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, June 9, 1991, p. 10.

Abbott Sekaquaptewa and Dalton Taylor in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, April 18, 1991, pp. 5-7.

Eugene Sekaquaptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, June 13, 1991, p. 6.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 55.

Office has consequently requested that archaeologists and National Park Service interpreters use the term *Hisatsinom* in lieu of "Anasazi."

During field work in the Grand Canyon, there was considerable discussion about the Pecos Classification used by archaeologists in relation to Hopi concepts of the past.⁵⁰⁴ In addition to the *Hisatsinom*, the Hopi recognize an earlier ancestral people they refer to as the *Motisinom* ("the first people"), from whom many Hopi clans are descended. While it is tempting to equate the concept of the *Motisinom* with the Paleo-Indian and Archaic cultures as recognized by archaeologists, Hopi cultural advisors caution that the concept is more complex than this. In Hopi culture, the *Motisinom* are not just known through oral traditions; key elements of the *Motisinom* are still reenacted in the ongoing ceremonies of the Hopi people. In ceremony, teaching, and ritual the Hopis claim an ancestral tie to the *Motisinom* but a full explication of this concept requires sensitive ritual knowledge that the Hopi priests are not ready to divulge to uninitiated Hopis or to non-Indians.

In Hopi research and understanding of the past, the sacred character of cultural knowledge has to be respected and given precedence over historical knowledge divorced from its spiritual context. The maintenance of ongoing religious and cultural traditions is more important than the use of knowledge simply to create a more detailed historical understanding of the past for scholarly purposes.

Many Hopis are interested in making connections between the ancestral villages mentioned in their oral traditions and the archaeological sites documented by archaeologists. Sometimes, such as at the site of Homol'ovi on the Little Colorado River, making these connections is a relatively straightforward process. For other places, especially those occupied in earlier times, it is a more difficult process.

Hopi cultural advisors point out there are many things to be considered before "establishing" Hopi ancestral sites with respect to archaeological ruins.⁵⁰⁵ The songs and prayers of the *Wuwtsim* and other sacred ceremonies contain information which could be used to do this but this work has not yet been undertaken, and not all Hopis think it should be done. The Hopi Cultural Preservation Office therefore currently concentrates on the analysis of archaeological evidence since it does not always have the information about ancestral sites needed to securely associate them with traditional history and ceremonial knowledge. Such work remains for the future.

Hopi Perspectives about the Archaeological Record

Hopis and archaeologists have significantly different perspectives about the archaeological record that inform how these sites are values and to what uses they should be put. The three most important differences are described below:

1. Hopis consider archaeological materials to have been left behind on purpose to serve a purpose, that is, to serve as markers on the landscape. Archaeologists by and large consider most materials in the archaeological record (with the exception of burials) to have been simply discarded and "abandoned."

⁵⁰⁴ Leigh Jenkins and Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 49-50, 56-57.

⁵⁰⁵ Leigh Jenkins interview, February 10, 1994, p. 2.

2. Hopis consider their ancestral sites to still be occupied by the people who lived there. Archaeologists consider these sites to consist of inanimate objects with no life.
3. Hopis consider the people interred in graves to retain property rights to the grave goods they were buried with. Archaeologists consider those grave goods to be part of an "archaeological record" available for scientific study.

The idea that Hopi ancestors left a trail of evidence throughout the region is pervasive in Hopi culture (Figure 36).⁵⁰⁶ The Hopi think *Hisatsinom* settlements are there for a purpose. The ancestors were given instructions to spread out over the land and build communities of stone because masonry architecture will endure through time. This was necessary because the Hopi believe that now and in the future other peoples will come into their region and see the communities of stone and know this was the abiding place of Hopi ancestors. Masonry pueblos and other archaeological sites are the standards of Hopi territorial domain.

Given these beliefs, many Hopi think the best use of the archaeological record is to preserve it *in situ*. Excavation of archaeological sites entails destruction of the archaeological record, and this concerns Hopi cultural advisors. Once sites are no longer physically intact, they no longer serve their purpose of marking the Hopi claim. These values result in the conservative attitude many Hopis have towards archaeological research. This conservatism is best understood as a desire to conserve the archaeological record through preservation.

Many Hopi cultural advisors recognize that there have been changes in many aspects of Puebloan culture and society.⁵⁰⁷ In many ways, the Hopi social and economic organization evident today was different in the past. Some of these differences are obvious, such as the existence of very small villages in ancient times compared to the larger villages of today. Other differences are more subtle. Recognition of this fact leads many Hopis to think there are things that can be learned from the scientific study of archaeological sites that are in danger of being destroyed. When sites are or will be adversely impacted by human land use, many Hopis think these cultural resources should be studied in appropriate and sensitive manner so contemporary Hopis have one more means to learn about their ancestors and all knowledge of the physical record is not lost. As well, future generations of Hopis will have written record of their history.

⁵⁰⁶ Abbott Sekaquaptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, February 3, 1992, p. 3.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, pp. 22-25.

Bradley Balenquah in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 25.

Byron Tyma in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 27, 1994, p. 9.

⁵⁰⁷ Dalton Taylor, Valjean Joshevama, and Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, December 13, 1994, p. 4.

Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 27, 1994, pp. 9-10.

Hopi Perspectives on "Abandonment"

Many Hopis are puzzled by the archaeological concept of "abandonment" that pervades much archaeological research, including research about the Grand Canyon.⁵⁰⁸ A common question archaeologists seem to ask, is "Where did the prehistoric Pueblo people go?" Sometimes it appears as if the answer is they disappeared. The Hopi think the archaeological characterization of "abandonment," especially as interpreted in National Parks, needlessly mystifies Southwestern prehistory. As Leigh Jenkins has pointed out, the prehistoric Pueblo peoples did not disappear, the Hopis Zunis, and other contemporary Puebloan people are their direct descendants (Widdison 1991:31-32). Jenkins summarized this point at a conference on "The Anasazi, Why did they leave? Where did they Go?" by stating, "... the Anasazi didn't go anywhere. We're still here" (Widdison 1991:33).

The literal concept of abandonment used by many archaeologists is an issue of concern to Hopis.⁵⁰⁹ There is no concept of abandonment at Hopi. The Hopi did not abandon sites; these sites were not "neglected" after people left them to continue their migration. Hopi ceremonies and rituals continued to and still provide a connection to these ancestral sites and provide a reason why Hopis are still here. Hopis feel that the term "abandonment" disassociates them from their ancestors and makes history "cold." Simply because their ancestors relinquished living within the Grand Canyon does not mean they "abandoned" the canyon. The Hopi continue to use and pay homage to the Grand Canyon as one of the areas their ancestors resided in, and for this reason Hopi cultural advisors do not think anyone should consider it to have been "abandoned."

During the long period of clan migrations, when one clan moved their village to a new area they were often replaced by another clan.⁵¹⁰ There were thus successive migrations. The rituals and blessings that were offered before their ancestors left to continue their migration have a continuing importance. Eventually all the Hopi clans reached their ultimate destiny on the Hopi Mesas in fulfillment of their covenant with *Ma'saw*, but they retain strong spiritual ties to all the areas their ancestors migrated through, including the Grand Canyon.

The ideas Hopi cultural advisors have about the process of clan migrations has relevance for archaeological research. As one cultural advisor explained, during the clan migrations, everyone did not all move at the same time.⁵¹¹ Some people were sent in advance to find springs while the main body of the clan stayed and grew a supply of corn. The people in the advance party left signs for the others to follow when the time came for them to move. Old people sometimes stayed where they were until they died and could be buried. Sometimes people waited for children to grow up before they began traveling. Many clan migrations were thus a long-term process composed of many separate but related events.

Another cultural advisor offered several interesting ideas about the role of granaries and storage facilities in the process of establishing new communities. This advisor pointed out that not all

⁵⁰⁸ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, December 13, 1994, p. 11.

⁵⁰⁹ Leigh Jenkins and Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 48, 56.

⁵¹⁰ Bradley Balenquah in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 48-49.

⁵¹¹ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 55-56.

sites in the Grand Canyon were dwelling places; many of them were probably storage areas. He explained,⁵¹²

... in the canyon there are no real good locations for major communities to be established. But it was a route that was taken because there was water in the Canyon ... and to any large movement such as a migration water is very essential. And because of the presence of water there are of course different kinds of vegetation and animal life that are there that they also could depend on for food. Although I don't know of any specific sites where they carried on agriculture it seems evident from the storage areas that they did ... carry on agricultural activity and then they used these storage areas ... in those days they kept the food and ... when they moved they ... went back to these storage areas to get the food to take back to the place where they were establishing themselves ... out of the canyon.

... it would take them a little bit of time to establish their new fields at their new site and to grow food. They had to have ... had .. the food in storage to tide them over, so to speak, until they have a good ... growing season at their new place. That's how they did those things over there. These storage areas are not just in the Grand Canyon, of course, they're at different places ... all over through out the Southwest. That's how they did it ... during the migrations.

... the other thing that happened was that when they moved they always left old people behind because they just were not physically able to stand the rigors of a move, of an entire ... move of a community to another place so they would leave them behind. They would leave younger people to look after their needs but because they had to support them, they built these storage areas and when they grew [crops] then they took them to these storage areas and put them there. And then another time when they went to see ... the old people they didn't have to carry the food all the way. They stopped at the storage place on the way, got the food, and took it the rest of the way ... These are some of the ways they handled these things.

There is a Hopi teaching that you should deliberately break pottery when you leave a village for a new pueblo. If even if only one sherd is ritually broken and left, that will tell the story. Hopis thus think the broken pottery that covers the surface of many *Hisatsinom* sites was more than simply trash. These sherds were intentionally left behind to mark the landscape. Today Hopi cultural advisors think that archaeologists and the National Park Service are learning the "story" of the past, in part from the broken sherds that the Hopi ancestors left behind when they migrated through the Grand Canyon.⁵¹³

Elements of Interest to the Hopi in Archaeological Research Designs

During the course of the Hopi GCES project, there was substantial discussion among cultural advisors about the potential of archaeological research to address questions of interest to the Hopi people. The consensus among cultural advisors is that the information needed for land claims and the

⁵¹² Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, August 1, 1991, pp. 3-4.

⁵¹³ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 32.

genuine interest the Hopi people have in their history are two valid reasons to conduct archaeological research, especially where sites are being destroyed.⁵¹⁴

The Hopis know they can help archaeologists interpret aspects of the archaeological record. As an example, in an article published in the tribal newspaper Wilmer Joshevama (1993) described how the Hopi research team on a GCES research trip helped identify the function of some wooden artifacts found in a cleft in the rock near Nankoweap. Joshevama wrote,

On one day the group was introduced to a pair of digging sticks located within a crack in the wall. They had initially been identified and recorded as bow and arrows by the discoverer. However, upon examination by the Hopi team, everyone agreed that they were digging sticks along with a small bundle of bamboo reeds. This was an excellent example of how collaboration with park service archaeologists can benefit both parties.

During many discussions about archaeological research, Hopi cultural advisors discussed 21 research topics they would like to see addressed in archaeological research in the Grand Canyon.⁵¹⁵ These are listed below. It should be noted that this list is not presented in ranked order of importance and that it is not exhaustive. Additional consultation with Hopi cultural advisors may identify additional archaeological topics that should be researched.

1. Cultural affinity of human remains and archaeological sites.
2. Chronological framework for Hopi clan migrations.

⁵¹⁴ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 24.

⁵¹⁵ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 54-55.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, April 18, 1991, pp. 4-5.

Eugene Sekaquaptewa T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, April 18, 1991, p. 1.

Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, January 21, 1992, p. 10.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 35, 54.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 24.

Owen Numkena interview, July 3, 1994, p. 1.

Victor Masayesva in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 16.

Robert Sakiestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 15.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, December 13, 1994, p. 5.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 27, 1994, p. 2.

Leigh Jenkins T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 13, 1994, p. 5.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 43.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 46

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 20, 30.

3. Chronological styles and interpretive motifs of petroglyphs and pictographs.
4. Investigation of clan symbols in petroglyphs and pictographs, and their sequence in relation to clan migration traditions.
5. Location and description of sources used for raw materials in production of artifacts, e.g., clays, pigments, lithics, wood.
6. Chronological framework for sequence of pottery.
7. Macrobotanical and pollen analysis to document cultigens and past climates
8. Genetic analysis of seeds from archaeological contexts to determine how these are related to modern Hopi seeds.
9. Functional variation in grinding stones (*mata*) and what this means for land use.
10. Seasonality and scheduling in occupation of sites used to harvest wild resources.
11. Prehistoric diet.
12. Origin of exotic pottery and implications of this for trade and exchange.
13. Chronological framework for sequence architecture and kivas
14. Survey around all habitation sites to search for traditional cultural properties such as rock piles that may be really shrines and important natural features.
15. An analysis at the regional scale to associate *Hisatsinom* ruins and agricultural lands.
16. An analysis at the regional scale to document the *Hisatsinom* trail network in the Grand Canyon.
17. Occurrence of violence experienced by Hopi clans, including warfare for defensive purposes.
18. Health, disease, and pathologies that affected ancestral Hopi people.
19. Past environmental conditions.
20. The social and economic contributions of females, investigated using Hopi women as consultants and advisors.
21. The integration of Hopi clan traditions and ceremonial/ritual information in archaeological research, using a sensitive research design based on the use of Hopi consultants.

Hopi cultural advisors indicated they are interested in humanistic as well as scientific concerns. For instance, at one site in the Grand Canyon, a cultural advisor reflected on the fact that children once ran around at that location. Grandfathers were there. Real lives were lived in what is now a

"ruin." This advisor suggested that people need to take a humanistic perspective as well as a scientific approach in investigating *Hisatsinom* archaeology.⁵¹⁶

Another cultural advisor visiting a *Hisatsinom* village in the Grand Canyon posed a number of questions that are potentially relevant for archaeological research.⁵¹⁷ All of these questions are framed in humanistic terms but they could be translated into scientific questions in a research design. These questions included:

- Who was grinding corn here?
- What lady used this *mata*?
- What season of the year was she grinding corn?
- What village activities was she surrounded with as she ground corn?
- What were the men doing while she prepared food?
- This is a big area. Did the people at this site visit other people across the river?
- Did people on both sides of the river belong to the same clans?
- Were all the occupants of the Grand Canyon the same people?

The Hopi Cultural Preservation Office has a methodological interest in using clan traditions in archaeological and historical research. As Leigh Jenkins, the Director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, said,⁵¹⁸

.... as a Hopi, I don't have all the answers. I probably never will. And that's why ... one of the things I talk about now is this new opportunity for people like yourselves to begin to listen to some of the clan traditions, and begin to extract from the memory of Hopis, and begin to ... equate them with material evidence. And begin to use some of these stories from the clans to begin to piece, again, the trail and the footprint of the Hopi clans ...

Hopi women need to be involved in the design and interpretation of archaeological research because it is women who design the house layout for their effective use, and who understand many other domestic and economic processes that archaeologists are interested in investigating..

Cultural advisors noted that the Hopi Tribe needs to encourage Hopi students to work with archaeologists in implementing archaeological research.⁵¹⁹ This would provide an educational opportunity for the Hopi students and would enhance research by providing a greater Hopi

⁵¹⁶ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 56.

⁵¹⁷ Orville Hongoeva in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 53-54.

⁵¹⁸ Leigh Jenkins interview, August 26, 1992, p. 6.

⁵¹⁹ Ben Nuvamsa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 20.

perspective about the archaeological record.⁵²⁰ Hopi advisors think that their grandchildren need to be able to continue their historical association with sites in the Grand Canyon. By working with archaeologists, the Hopis will gain something for future generations.

Finally, the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office wants to be consulted about the decisions made to manage cultural resources in the Grand Canyon, and participate in the archaeological research that is conducted at *Hisatsinom* sites.⁵²¹



Figure 36. Hopi cultural advisors inspect the "footprints" of the *Hisatsinom* at Bright Angel Pueblo, River Mile 87.6. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, May 2, 1994

⁵²⁰ The cooperative agreement between the Hopi Tribe and Northern Arizona University provides one model for how this type of educational program can be structured.

⁵²¹ Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 40-41.

CHAPTER 10

INFORMATION ABOUT HOPI TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES AND OTHER SITES IN THE GRAND CANYON

The comments, interpretation, and management recommendations offered by Hopi cultural advisors at specific locations in the Grand Canyon are reviewed in this chapter. The 52 locations discussed in this chapter include Hopi traditional cultural properties and other sites in or near Grand Canyon. The Hopi Tribe's assessment of these traditional cultural properties in terms of their eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places (Secakuku 1997) entailed the recommendation that *Öngtupqa* be nominated to the National Register as a historic district.

The sites are discussed in the approximate order of their location on the Colorado River, upstream to downstream. It should be reiterated that the Hopi Tribe claims cultural affiliation to at least 235 archaeological sites recorded by the National Park Service in the GCES survey area in the Grand Canyon. These archaeological sites are considered to be *Motisinom* and *Hisatsinom* sites, and the Hopi Tribe thus considers them to be traditional cultural properties. Other traditional cultural properties discussed in this chapter include springs, natural landmarks, and natural resource collection sites.

RAINBOW BRIDGE

The Rainbow Bridge is a natural stone bridge located in Forbidden Canyon, a tributary to the Colorado River. Most people now access the Rainbow Bridge by traveling by boat on Lake Powell. It is located about 50 miles upstream from the Wahweap Marina. The Rainbow Bridge is a National Monument administered by the National Park Service. It is surrounded by the Navajo Indian Reservation.

The Rainbow Bridge is a Hopi traditional cultural property. Hamana (n.d.) documented that the Hopis are concerned about important plants, cultural materials, and prehistoric archaeological sites near Rainbow Bridge. He noted, "Rainbow Bridge is culturally significant to the Hopi people. It is recognized as one of the respected places because it has a religious significance to the tribe... clan affiliation identified the area as part of the Hopi aboriginal land boundaries."

In an earlier study, Jett (1973:134) noted that prehistoric Puebloan people ancestral to the Hopi occupied the Navajo Mountain area prior to AD 1270. Several early accounts of Rainbow Bridge describe a "small slab-sided altar" at the base of the natural bridge. Jett concludes (1973:135),

The putative shrine certainly does not prove that the Hopi consider Rainbow Bridge to be sacred. Nevertheless, prehistoric inhabitants of the Bridge region contributed to the historic Hopi population, and Hopi migration legends place certain clan ancestors near Navajo Mountain ... Pre-19th-century Hopi potsherds are found sparingly in sites of this area ... and some years ago a Hopi informed Dr. E. B. Danson ... that Hopis still place prayer-sticks on Navajo Mountain. Twentieth-century slab-sided Hopi village shrines have been described by Fewkes (1906:352, 360, 366).

This shrine was not located during field work on June 10, 1992. In the past, it has been submerged under water as the level of Lake Powell has risen with water impounded by the Glen Canyon Dam.

Hopi cultural advisors noted during field work that the *Leengyam* (Flute), *Aalngyam* (Deer), *Kookopngyam* (Fire), *Piqösngyam* (Bearstrap), *Polingyam* (Butterfly), and *Tsungyam* (Rattlesnake) clans migrated through this area near *Tokonavi* (Navajo Mountain) before joining the Hopis at Paviovi near Big Mountain.⁵²² At Paviovi they reoccupied an area that had been lived in earlier by the *Kyarngyam* (Parrot Clan). There are additional clans that came from this area but they are now extinct.

Hopi cultural advisors reported that the *Tsungyam* (Rattlesnake Clan) has a sacred spring near Rainbow Bridge. Runners were sent from Oraibi to this spring to collect water. A cultural advisor from Shungopavi noted that Hopis still come here for ritual purposes; they just don't tell anyone. Oraibi sends runners for the Snake Ceremony.

The *Leengyam* (Flute Clan) has an image of Rainbow Bridge on one of their altars.

A cultural advisor from Shungopavi related a narrative told by the Hopis of when people lived close by. The chief had a pretty daughter but no one could marry her unless the young man walked across the bridge. This takes a lot of courage and many tried.

The Hopi cultural advisors who visited Rainbow Bridge expressed concern about impacts to the site from heavy visitation by tourists.

AZ:C:2:38

This archaeological site consists of a panel of petroglyphs located between the Glen Canyon Dam and Lees Ferry (Figure 37). Hopi cultural advisors who visited this site thought this panel depicted a hunting party that came into the canyon to hunt game.⁵²³ The leader of the pack of animals was eliminated in the hunt. Hopi cultural advisors also identified a fertility symbol at this site. It was suggested that an enigmatic petroglyph may illustrate a goat or ram with one body and two heads.

AZ:C:2:34

This archaeological site consists of petroglyph panel is located between Glen Canyon Dam and Lees Ferry. Hopi cultural advisors who examined these petroglyphs thought they were "very interesting" but were reticent in sharing their interpretation with scholars.⁵²⁴ One Hopi advisor identified a hand print or a bear paw print. Another glyph was interpreted as a Greasewood-like symbol composed of 8 curving vertical lines crosscut by a single curving horizontal line. As measured by the Hopi cultural advisors, this glyph is 121 x 23 cm in its maximum dimensions.

⁵²² T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, June 10, 1992.

⁵²³ T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, June 9, 1992.

⁵²⁴ T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, June 9, 1992.

At a second panel of petroglyphs at this site there were petroglyphs pecked into a dark patina. Here the Hopis identified a number of elements, including an artifact that hangs from the kiva ladder during the Snake Dance (a horizontal line with vertical lines attached below it); a snake element; an "antelope woman;" possibly a spider; and a strap.

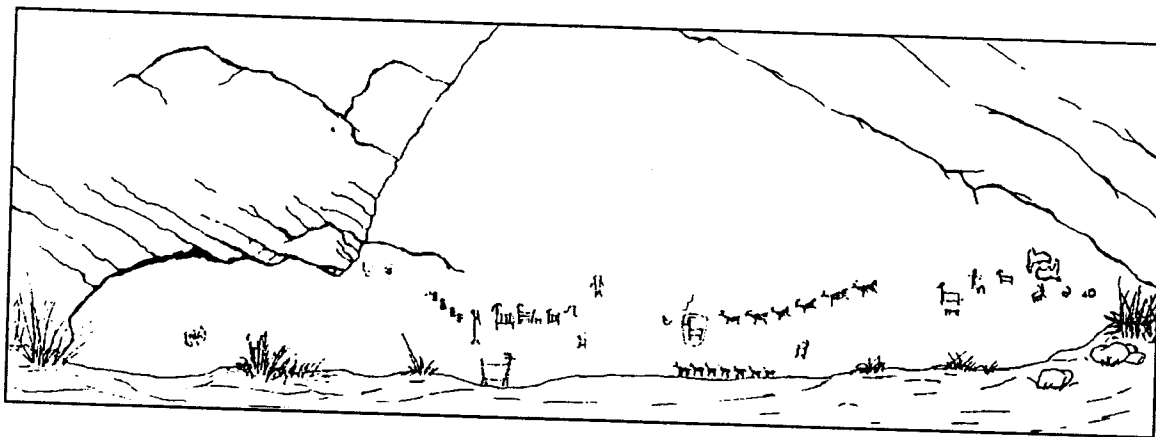


Figure 37. Portion of illustration of AZ:C:2:38 from National Park Service site form prepared by T. Samples and B. Crew, February 17, 1991.

NENEQPI WUNASIVU (LEES FERRY)

Neneqpi Wunasivu (Lees Ferry) is a Hopi traditional cultural property. There is a Hopi shrine at this location, the exact location of which was not divulged during field work.⁵²⁵ This shrine was also documented in litigation of the Hopi land claim filed with the Indian Claims Commission (Boyden Collection n.d.). One cultural advisor suggested the Hopi name for this area means "where the two echoes connect." Other cultural advisors noted that Hopis collect Cottonwood at this location, and that the rocks used in the masonry of the trading post at Moenkopi were cut in the vicinity of Lees Ferry.⁵²⁶ Hopi elders also have an oral tradition about the *Hisatsinom* villages that are located on the ledges near Lees Ferry. Hopi use of Lees Ferry was mentioned at the beginning of the twentieth century by G. Wharton James (1903:71-72). The area at Lees Ferry is recited in Katsina ceremonial trail songs as *Yamaqwpi* ("the place of the crossing").

AZ:C:2:101

AZ:C:2:101 is a fragile lithic scatter within River Reach 1. This site consists of a roasting feature located on sand dunes formed from flood deposits. Hopi cultural advisors inspecting this site discussed the fact that rock pile at AZ:C:2:101 has the surface characteristics of a human burial, i.e.,

⁵²⁵ Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 1.

⁵²⁶ Wilton Kooyahoema and Robert Sakiestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, pp. 2-3.

the piling up of the rocks in the scatter. There was a general consensus that this feature looked like a burial.

Hopi cultural advisors expressed concern about soil erosion occurring at this site, and recommended that the National Park Service undertake some remedial action to prevent further soil erosion. These cultural advisors suggested traditional Puebloan water control features such as check dams or terracing would provide an effective means for soil control at the site.⁵²⁷

AZ:C:6:3

AZ:C:6:3 is an artifact scatter within River Reach 1, which dates to the period ca. AD 1050-1150. There are four terraces of pre-dam flood along the creek at this site; the old high water terrace was the surface used by ancient people. This location was used as a cross-canyon route to travel from one side of the Grand Canyon to the other. National Park Service archaeologists reported that Hopi ceramics (Jeddito Yellowware; Polacca Polychrome) are present on the upper terrace of this site. Jan Balsom, the Grand Canyon National Park Archaeologist, said she thought the site was probably used in winter as part of a trail system that ran across the canyon. Hopi cultural advisors concurred with this interpretation.⁵²⁸

Hopi cultural advisors who inspected this site consider it to be a *Hisatsinom* site, and thus a Hopi traditional cultural property.⁵²⁹

The Hopis who visited AZ:C:6:3 were interested in the potential correlation of this site to agricultural areas. These Hopis pointed out that the *suwvi* (Four-wing Saltbush) growing in the sandy areas adjacent to the site is a traditional Hopi indicator for land with good farming potential for corn fields. Since *suwvi* occurs in the area around this site, the Hopis suggest it may have been used for agricultural purposes.⁵³⁰

At this location, the National Park Service has constructed steps out of logs to facilitate movement along the trail and act as small check dams to stop soil erosion. In places, the National Park Service had tried to revegetate trails, and brush and plants have been put in the trail tracks to keep people off of them. This is a low-key but effective management tool.⁵³¹

Hopi cultural advisors suggested that the National Park Service should close off or reroute the trails that cross AZ:C:6:3 in order to protect the fragile surface of the site.⁵³²

⁵²⁷ Gilbert Naseyouma and Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 3.

⁵²⁸ Ronald Humeyestewa, Owen Numkena and Byron Tyma in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 5-6.

⁵²⁹ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 4.

Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 8.

⁵³⁰ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, pp. 4-5.

⁵³¹ T. J. Ferguson, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 5.

⁵³² Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 6.

AZ:C:6:5 (SUPAI MAN PETROGLYPH)

This petroglyph takes its name from the fact that it is pecked into a horizontal exposure of the Supai rock formation; its name does not indicate that it depicts a Supai person (Figure 38). The petroglyph occurs within River Reach 2. The glyph measures about 45 cm in height.

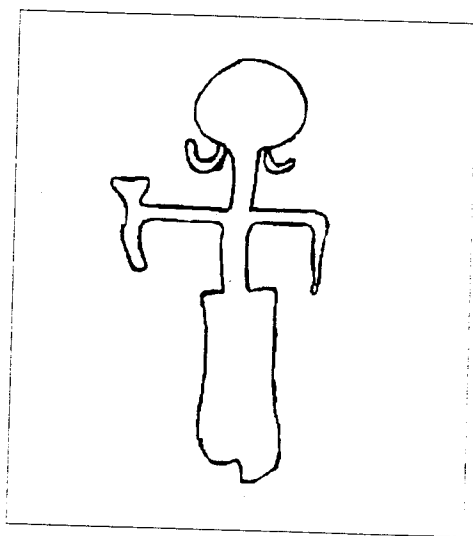


Figure 38. "Supai Man" Petroglyph within River Reach 2. Drawing by Ronald Humeyestewa.

After inspection of this petroglyph, Hopi cultural advisors concluded it is a *Hisatsinom* archaeological site, and thus a Hopi traditional property.⁵³³

Several different groups of cultural advisors visited the "Supai Man" petroglyph during field work, and the petroglyph was discussed at a meeting of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team. Based on these discussions, Hopi cultural advisors concluded there were two interpretations of the petroglyph. It should be noted that the fact that there were multiple interpretations of this petroglyph did not surprise the cultural advisors, who pointed out that the structure of knowledge in Hopi society is such that some variation in the explanation of symbols is expected. This cultural diversity is good, and it makes Hopi social life what it is.⁵³⁴

One interpretation is that the "Supai Man" petroglyph represents *Payatamu*, a ritual clown associated with the Second Mesa *Masikwayngyam* (Eagle Clan).⁵³⁵ *Payatamu* appears at katsina

⁵³³ Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 2.

Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 8.

⁵³⁴ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 27, 1994, pp. 1-2.

⁵³⁵ Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, p. 18.

dances held during the summer equinox, and wears earrings made from Jackrabbit tails covered with *sua*. Some cultural advisors thought these earrings are depicted in the "Supai Man" petroglyph.

A second interpretation is that the petroglyph depicts the Hopi deity *Ma'saw*.⁵³⁶ In this interpretation, the petroglyph depicts *Ma'saw* carrying a planting stick in his left hand and a bag of seeds in right hand. These were two of the important gifts that *Ma'saw* gave to the Hopi people when they entered into a covenant with him. The shape of the head in the "Supai Man" petroglyph is how *Ma'saw* is often depicted in petroglyphs. Several Hopi cultural advisors noted that there are esoteric aspects of this petroglyph that can only be discussed with trusted society members. For this reason, not all information about the petroglyph was divulged during research.

One cultural advisor suggested the absence of feet on the "Supai Man" petroglyph may be a depiction of crossing the river. When a person is crossing the river, their feet are not visible because they are submerged under the water.⁵³⁷

The panel at the "Supai Man" petroglyph contains two other elements in addition to the main glyph (Figure 39). Some cultural advisors thought that an angular symbol above the head of main figure may represent the *soho*, a hair style associated with *Ma'saw*.⁵³⁸ In viewing this petroglyph in 1997, Harold Polingyumtewa observed that *Ma'saw* is wearing a cotton kilt, *mötsapu*, as this is how *Ma'saw* is described. He concluded that the angular line above the head represents *Ma'saw*, and depicts the traditional hairdo of Hopi men.⁵³⁹ Other cultural advisors suggested this element may depict a snake or a bend in *Pisivayu* (Colorado River).⁵⁴⁰

Hopi cultural advisors thought a line below the main figure is a significant feature of the petroglyph.⁵⁴¹ This line runs in an approximately east-west direction. Some cultural advisors suggested this may indicate a migration route. Because part of this petroglyph has been lost by erosion of the bedrock surface, however, it is hard to say which direction it points towards. In a similar interpretation, other cultural advisors suggested this line is associated with a trail that runs through this area. Still other advisors suggested this line tells what time of year it was when the

Bradley Balenquah and Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 6-7.

Owen Numkena in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 6.

⁵³⁶ Ronald Humeyestewa, Gilbert Naseyouma, and other cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 6-8.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 27, 1994, pp. 1-2.

⁵³⁷ Victor Masayesva in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 7.

⁵³⁸ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 6-7.

⁵³⁹ This information was provided by Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma.

⁵⁴⁰ Patrick Joshevama in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 7.

⁵⁴¹ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 2.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 6-8.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 7-8.

petroglyph was made. They felt this line was associated with summer dances because when the clowns come out at noon during the summer dance, there is a line that points to the top of the plaza.

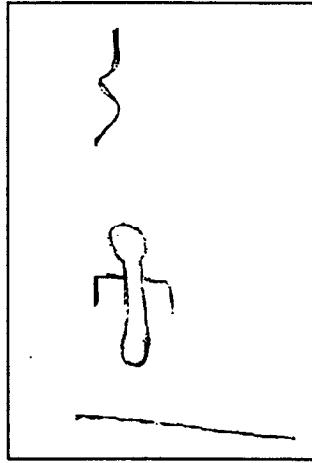


Figure 39. "Supai Man" petroglyphs. Sketch by Wilton Kooyahoema, October 6, 1994.

National Park Service archaeologists noted that there was an indirect impact to this petroglyph during the 1983 flood. At this time, people camped on the bedrock exposure surrounding the petroglyph to avoid the floodwaters. Otherwise, the repeated monitoring of the petroglyph has shown it to be in a stable condition. Most river trips that stop at this location have professional river guides who prevent their passengers from vandalizing the petroglyph.

Given the ritual nature of the interpretation of the petroglyph, however, Hopi cultural advisors are worried about potential vandalism to this site. They think the petroglyph is a significant cultural resource that warrants protection.⁵⁴²

BOULDER NARROWS

At the Boulder Narrows, within River Reach 1, the Grand Canyon Park Archaeologist pointed out the location of human remains that were discovered in an alcove on a ledge high above the river. It was too dangerous for the cultural advisors to climb up to the ledge to examine this feature, so all discussion about it took place on the rafts. The human remains were found here by people exploring a route out of the canyon. These remains appear to have been left on the surface of the alcove rather than interred or covered. The human remains were left *in situ* and not disturbed. The site is located outside of the impact zone of the Glen Canyon Dam so it is not in any immediate danger from erosion.

During fieldwork, Leigh Jenkins, the Director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, noted that before the Hopi Tribe can offer an opinion about the disposition of these human remains, his

⁵⁴² Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 6-8.

office needs to review the available documentation with the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team.⁵⁴³ Based on the subsequent recommendations of the Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, these human remains were reburied by Dalton Taylor in 1996.

AZ:B:9:94

A *Hisatsinom* petroglyph, designated as archaeological site AZ:B:9:94, is located within River Reach 2 (Figure 40). Hopi cultural advisors concurred that this petroglyph is a trail marker or "road sign" that signifies there are two trails out of the canyon at this point.⁵⁴⁴ This is communicated by the two upraised fingers depicted on the right hand of the figure. One cultural advisor added that the petroglyph also signifies an apparent route to the left was a dead end. The Hopis thought this petroglyph was executed in a style that still occurs in Hopi art.



Figure 40. *Hisatsinom* petroglyph at AZ:B:9:94. Drawing by Wilton Kooyahoema, October 6, 1994.

AZ:C:5:1 (SOUTH CANYON)

AZ:C:5:1 is an archaeological site situated on a bench above the river at South Canyon within River Reach 3. This site consists of a number of rooms, walls, and boulders covered with petroglyphs; dating to the period AD 900-1100. A human burial at this site was vandalized several years ago by two tourists on a commercial river trip, and two ceramics left as grave offerings were taken. These ceramics were subsequently collected by the National Park Service, are currently curated on the South Rim.

The Hopi cultural advisors who visited this site identified it as a *Hisatsinom* settlement. It is thus a Hopi traditional cultural property.⁵⁴⁵ Hopi cultural advisors were interested in the masonry architecture at this site. As discussed in Chapter 9, the Hopis consider these architectural remains to the "footprints" the *Hisatsinom* left behind during the clan migrations that eventually led to the settlement of the Hopi Mesas.

⁵⁴³ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 10-11.

⁵⁴⁴ Wilton Kooyahoema, Robert Sakiestewa, and Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 8.

⁵⁴⁵ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 9-12.

The petroglyphs found on several boulders at AZ:C:5:1 were also considered to be significant features at the site. Hopi cultural advisors thought that many of these petroglyphs represented clan symbols (Figures 41 and 42).⁵⁴⁶ Clan symbols identified at the site include the *Polingyam* (Butterfly Clan), *Honangyam* (Badger Clan), *Kuukutsngyam* (Lizard Clan), *Tsungyam* (Rattlesnake Clan), *Honngyam* (Bear Clan), and *Piqösngyam* (Bearstrap). It is relevant to note that in the National Park Service report on the GCES archaeological survey, Peter Bungart suggested the spirals, bear track, and eagle track petroglyphs found at this site may represent clan symbols (Fairley et al 1994:91-94). One cultural advisor suggested the "lizard" petroglyph at AZ:C:5:1 represented *Ma'saw*, and that the "migration" petroglyphs represented sundials.

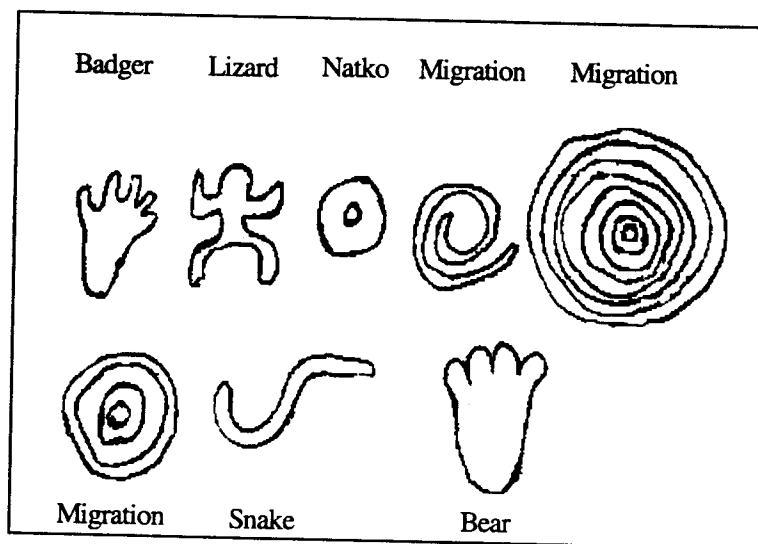


Figure 41. Hopi clan symbols observed in petroglyphs at AZ:C:5:1. Drawing by Owen Numkena, Jr., April 27, 1994.

In discussing the Bearstrap Clan petroglyph at AZ:C:5:1, one cultural advisor explained how the Bearstrap Clan takes its name from a device used to carry water vessels or bags of seeds.⁵⁴⁷ This carrying strap consisted of a wooden hoop with a strap made from bear hide (Figure 42). This device was first made during the Hopi Migration after people came across a bear carcass and used the hide to make a carrying strap. This advisor contrasted the Bearstrap Clan symbol with a similar petroglyph that depicts a *qaravaato*, or wooden hook (Figure 43). This wooden hook is used in the

⁵⁴⁶ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 2.

Ronald Humeyestewa and Owen Numkena in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 9-11.

Robert Sakiestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 10.

Dennis Koeyahongya and Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 11.

⁵⁴⁷ Ronald Humeyestewa and Gilbert Naseyouma in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 9-12.

roof of a pueblo room to hang items. Another cultural advisor pointed out that the Mexicans have a variant of this device that is used to attach loads on burros.

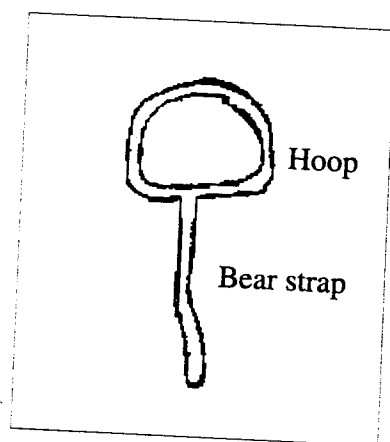


Figure 42. Hopi Bearstrap Clan symbol observed at AZ:C:5:1, drawing by Ronald Humeyestewa, April 27, 1994.

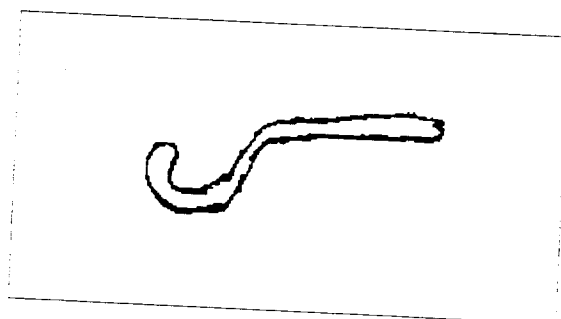


Figure 43. *Qaravaato*, or wooden hook, observed at AZ:C:5:1. Drawing by Ronald Humeyestewa, April 27, 1994.

Ronald Humeyestewa also observed a *Qaravaato* (alternately *Ka-zha-va-da*), a wooden hook, represented in a petroglyph.

One of the larger boulders at the site has a panel of many petroglyphs that together symbolize Hopi clan migrations as they relate to the inner Hopi Life Cycle.⁵⁴⁸ To some cultural advisors, the four concentric circles in this petroglyph signify the number of years that the *Hisatsinom* resided here

⁵⁴⁸ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 9-12.

Robert Sakiestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 10.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 11.

before continuing on their migration (Figure 44). To other advisors, the concentric circles represent the four directional migrations. A spiral indicates where they started and emerged and went forward in the clan migration. In another panel of petroglyphs located nearby, footprints were interpreted as leading to the archaeological site, representing the direction taken during a clan migration.

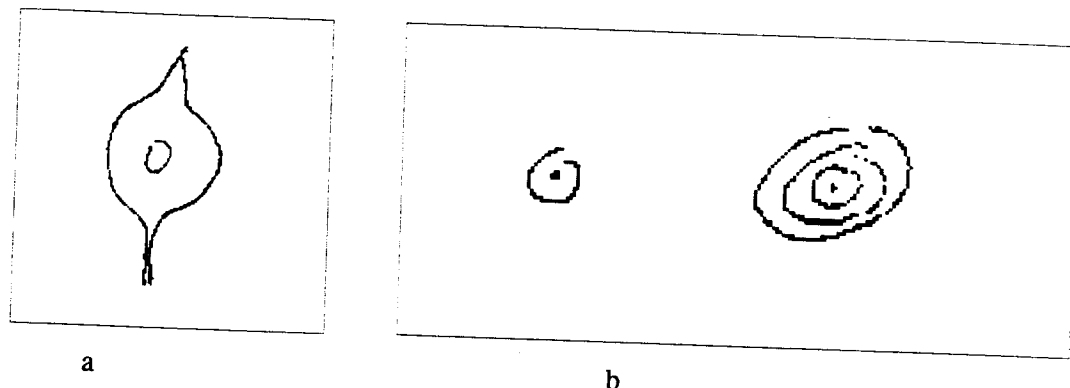


Figure 44. Migration symbols at AZ:C:5:1; (a) depicts clan splitting into two directions during migration, (b) depicts early and later migrations. Sketch by T. J. Ferguson, October 2, 1993.

In discussing these petroglyphs, one Hopi cultural advisor explained the process by which Hopis interpret rock art by extracting meaning from Hopi teaching.⁵⁴⁹ Footprints in this panel represent the pact the Hopis made with *Ma'saw* and the fact that the clans reached this site. Upon a sign, the clans split into two directions (Figure 44a). Fertility symbols (*Natko*) in this panel represent the replenishment of life forever (Figure 45). These symbols, contained within the Hopi religion, signify that ritual life is replenished. To this cultural advisor, survival and fertility were recurrent themes in the petroglyphs in this panel and throughout the site. This advisor qualified his remarks by noting, "These are my interpretations."

Another cultural advisor pointed out a petroglyph he thought represents a female giving birth (Figure 46).⁵⁵⁰ This was interpreted as symbol of life. Cultural advisors viewing this panel discussed the fact that fertility symbols are frequently associated with female figures (Figure 46b).

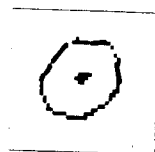


Figure 45. *Natko* fertility symbol at AZ:C:5:1. Sketch by T. J. Ferguson, October 2, 1993.

⁵⁴⁹ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 13.

⁵⁵⁰ Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 14.

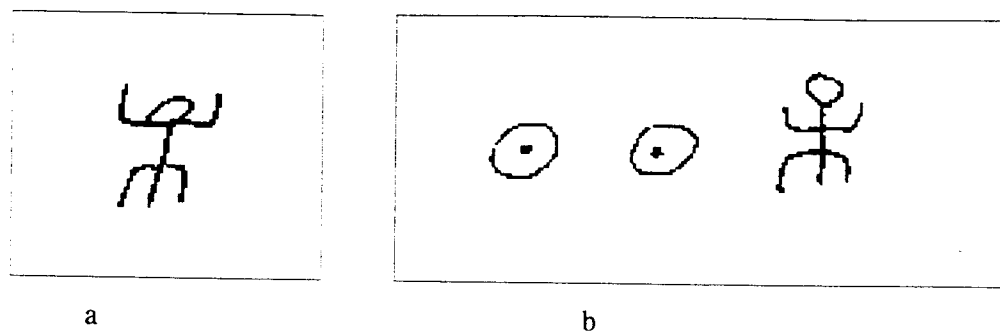


Figure 46. Petroglyphs at AZ:C:5:1: (a) depicts fertility symbol of female giving birth, (b) depicts fertility symbols in association with female figure. Sketch by T. J. Ferguson, October 2, 1993.

Not all the petroglyphs at AZ:C:5:1 were identified as clan symbols.⁵⁵¹ Non-clan petroglyphs at the site included bird tracks, a human figure, hand prints, bear paws, lightening, fire, and other symbols. One petroglyph was tentatively identified as a head, perhaps same ritual clown as depicted at the "Supai Man" petroglyph (Figure 47). Several petroglyphs were too enigmatic to interpret.

During their visits to AZ:C:5:1, Hopi cultural advisors left offerings for the ancestors who are associated with this site.⁵⁵² During the Fall 1994 river trip, one of the Hopi priests participating in the field work, Wilton Kooyahoema, constructed a *kiiyat* or "house" to serve as a formal receptacle for ritual offerings on a ledge above the archaeological site. This *kiiyat* was designated as a "home for offerings." It is not considered to be a formal "shrine." The offering place at this site has been integrated into Hopi religious practices, and special offerings for this place were made during the Soyalung ceremonies on the Hopi Mesas in 1995.

The Hopis making offerings at this location expressed some anxiety that their ritual deposits may be disturbed, vandalized, or stolen by tourists who come on subsequent river trips.⁵⁵³ After some discussion, it was decided that if anyone takes their offerings that person will suffer the consequences. When a Hopi makes a ritual offering, his ritual responsibility is completed. If another

⁵⁵¹ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 2.

Brad Balenquah and Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 12-14.

Robert Sakiestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 10.

⁵⁵² Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, p. 5.

Wilton Kooyahoema in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 10

T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 10-11.

⁵⁵³ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 10

T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 10-11.

individual subsequently disturbs that offering, then that individual assumes the responsibility and consequences for that disturbance.

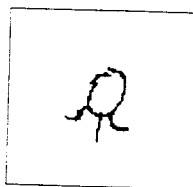


Figure 47. Petroglyph at AZ:C:5:1 that possibly depicts the head of ritual clown. Sketch by T. J. Ferguson, October 2, 1993.

For purposes of management, the location of the offering place was shown to the Park Archaeologist, so she can instruct National Park Service employees on how to protect it.⁵⁵⁴ In a discussion with the Park Archaeologist, Leigh Jenkins reiterated that the Hopi offering places established in the Grand Canyon were not "shrines" but offering places. The Park Archaeologist said she would inform her staff there is one such Hopi place at South Canyon, and that it should be respected by avoidance. Leigh Jenkins requested that she not reveal the specific location when she informed her staff. The Hopis are concerned about appropriation of their offering places by New Age adherents. New Age religious practitioners have established a vortex site at Hopi and that is a sacrilege the Hopi would not like repeated in the Grand Canyon.

Management issues discussed at AZ:C:5:1 included the disposition of the ceramic burial offerings collected by the National Park Service to prevent their theft by tourists, and soil erosion at the site.⁵⁵⁵ With respect to the burial offerings, Hopi cultural advisors recommended that these grave goods and any human remains that are involved should be reburied on the site. Several cultural advisors suggested reburying these items within the room block adjacent to the burial site. The National Park Service has planted cactus in this room block to prevent visitors from entering it. There was discussion that if this recommendation conflicted with scientific values to not disturb archaeological deposits, then the human remains and pottery could be reburied in the same place they came from, with large boulders placed on top to protect them. The Hopi cultural advisors concurred with the Park Archaeologist that the reburial of human remains and grave goods should be done with as little publicity as possible. The Hopi cultural advisors feel strongly that the human remains and grave goods belongs at the site and not anywhere else, and that they should be protected. Reburial is scheduled to be completed by Hopis in the spring of 1998.

⁵⁵⁴ T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 10-11.

⁵⁵⁵ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 11-15

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 9-13.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 12-14.

In 1994, recent vandalism at AZ:C:5:1 was observed by Hopi cultural advisors.⁵⁵⁶ A "Bar N" had been recently pecked into a small boulder next to some of the petroglyphs at the site. National Park Service archaeologists said this graffiti was probably left by fishermen who hike into the canyon rather than people on commercial raft trips. A large version of this same symbol was also pecked in a nearby cave last year. This was probably done by a ranch hand from the Bar-N Ranch in the Arizona Strip.

With respect to soil erosion, Hopi cultural advisors thought there is a need for erosion control to stabilize the soil at this location.⁵⁵⁷ These advisors observed that if nothing is done, eventually more burials and archaeological deposits will be exposed. The Hopis suggested Puebloan soil and water control techniques be applied at this site to check erosion.

Given the problems with vandalism and soil erosion, Hopi cultural advisors recommended that this site be monitored by the National Park Service four times a year.⁵⁵⁸

YAM'TAQA (VASEY'S PARADISE)

Yam'taqa is the Hopi name for Vasey's Paradise, located within River Reach 3.⁵⁵⁹ Literally, the place name means spring of "perpetual peeking" or "perpetual visibility" but is more accurately interpreted as "place of the everflowing water." *Yam'taqa* derives its name from the fact that water is always coming out of the canyon wall at this location (Figure 48).

Yam'taqa is a Hopi traditional cultural property.⁵⁶⁰ The water from *Yam'taqa* is sacred, and it is collected by religious societies. One advisor noted that *Yam'taqa* is associated with the Two Horn and Antelope Societies. Hopi cultural advisors suggested the probable trail to *Yam'taqa* was via the Shinamu Altar, a mesa and Hopi shrine located about 19 km east of the Colorado River.

Hopi cultural advisors report that they had heard Hopi oral traditions about Vasey's Paradise prior to conducting field work in the Grand Canyon. One advisor said that this place was discussed

⁵⁵⁶ T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 9-12.

⁵⁵⁷ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 12.

⁵⁵⁸ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 13.

⁵⁵⁹ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes Taken during the Meeting of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, Honanhi Tribal Building, Kykotsmovi, Arizona, July 22, 1993. [Hereinafter referred to as T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, July 22, 1993.]

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 27, 1994, p. 2.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 11.

⁵⁶⁰ Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, pp. 17, 21.

Walter Hamana and Eric Polingyouma in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, pp. 3, 10, 14.

Walter Hamana and Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, December 19, 1992, p. 5.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 12.

in his kiva at Mishongnovi.⁵⁶¹ This man said that while the name "Vasey's Paradise" was not used by Hopi elders, the description of water coming right out of the wall fits no other location. Another advisor from Mishongnovi reported that he had heard about Vasey's Paradise from his grandfathers and other elders in his village.⁵⁶²

As discussed in Chapter 5, the Hopi have an oral tradition about Catholic priests who sent the ancestors to the Grand Canyon to obtain water from sacred springs. Some Hopi cultural advisors associate those traditions with Vasey's Paradise (Jenkins 1991:3).⁵⁶³ Other advisors say that the spring referred to in these traditions is located somewhere along *Pisisvayu* but the exact location is not known.⁵⁶⁴

Hopi cultural advisors who visited *Yam'taqa* during field work collected water to take back to their villages for use in Hopi religious rituals.⁵⁶⁵ The collection of this water was accompanied by the offering of *hooma* (prayermeal), and by the ritual splashing of water from the spring over the heads of the Hopis as an inducement for rainclouds to go to the Hopi villages. One advisor reported he would give this water to his mother for use in the Woman's Society.

One cultural advisor who is a priest left a prayer offering at this location, placing it in a location where he thought it would be hard for people to find. This advisor explained his offering was in reciprocation for the water that was collected. He said,⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶¹ Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁶² Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁶³ Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 3.

Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, p. 3.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 27, 1994, p. 2.

Ronald Humeyestewa and other cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 12, 15.

⁵⁶⁴ Wilton Kooyahoema in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 11.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 27, 1994, p. 2.

⁵⁶⁵ T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 4.

T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 16-17.

Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, p. 4.

T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 12.

T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 11.

T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 14.

⁵⁶⁶ Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, p. 5.

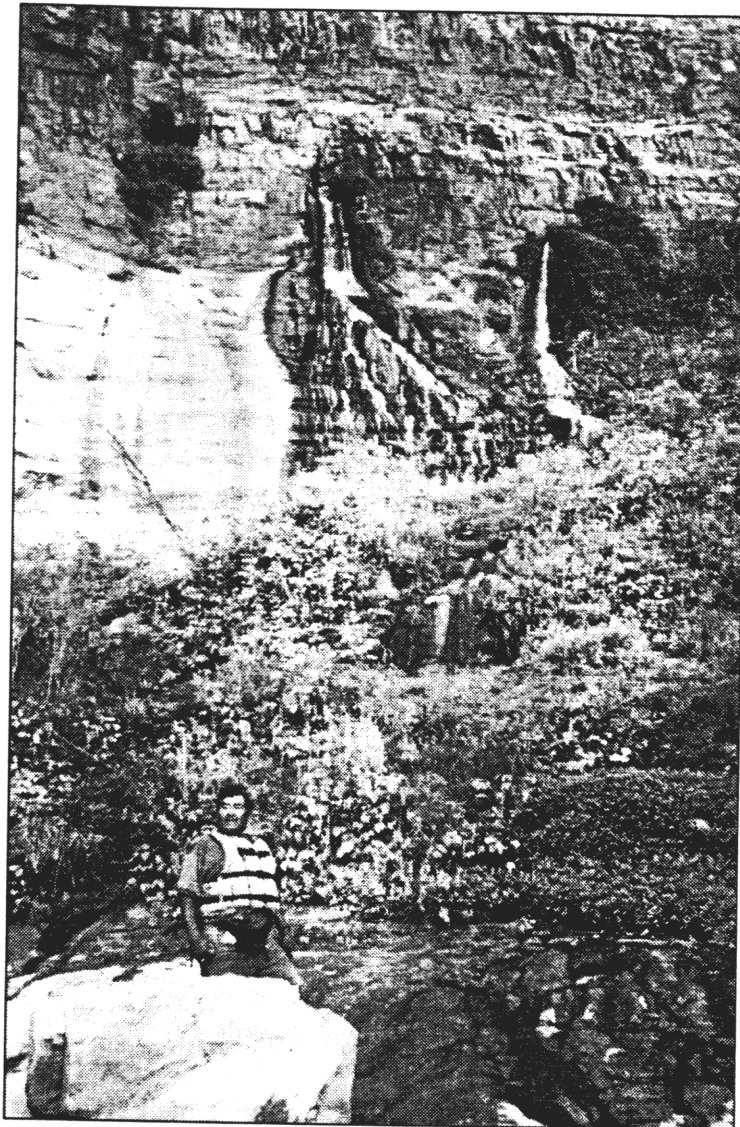


Figure 48. Wilton Kooyahoema at *Yam'taqa* (Vasey's Paradise). Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, October 7, 1994.

... in the Hopi way, you just can't just take anything you know, at least you leave something for them ... you have to tell them after you leave your offering, you have to tell them to come with you, make sure that they come with you. I'm talking about the, the clouds, and the rain, to come out, to come with us, or either ahead of us and come out here to the reservation and rain. So, these are the things that you have to say to your offering ... because that's the only thing that Hopi's are doing is, we want rain out here, we want a good crops, so, we'll have good crops, and all those things that you have to ask, before you take something.

A number of Hopi resources were recorded at Vasey's Paradise, including *atsapaaqavi* (Fake Bamboo), *paskwapu* (algae), *qahavi* (willow), and *pushö*.

Hopi cultural advisors said Vasey's Paradise should be protected from damage from the operation of Glen Canyon Dam or visitation by tourists because it is a respected place in Hopi culture.

PONGYATUYQA (SHINAMU ALTAR)

Pongyatuyqa (Shinamu Altar) is a prominent land form located about 19 km east of the Colorado River. It is visible from various points within the Grand Canyon. There is a Hopi shrine located at *Pongyatuyqa*, so it is a Hopi traditional cultural property.⁵⁶⁷ Hopi clans stopped at *Pongyatuyqa* during the migration. After the Hopis left the area on their journey towards the Hopi Mesas, they continued to return and to use *Pongyatuyqa* as an altar where religious objects were redeified and renewed. *Pongyatuyqa* means "altar point." Shinamu (*Sinomu*) is translated to mean "people."

MARBLE CANYON DAM SITE

The Marble Canyon Dam Site is not a Hopi traditional cultural property but Hopi cultural advisors are nonetheless concerned about the construction debris that litters this site. During inspection of the Marble Canyon Dam site, within River Reach 4, the Park Archaeologist led a discussion about the historical role of this place in the history of dam building in the Grand Canyon. The Marble Canyon Dam was never constructed due to political pressure brought by the Sierra Club and other environmentalists. The site thus constitutes a physical monument to the rationale of dam building, that is, flood control, irrigation water, and electrical generation. Hopi cultural advisors asked whether or not the National Park Service or Bureau of Reclamation was going to clean up the dam site. The Park Archaeologist replied they would probably not clean up this site, since the National Park Service now considers the shafts and construction debris left during the geological exploration of the site to be an important interpretive feature that represents the end of an era of dam building on the Colorado River.⁵⁶⁸

AZ:C:9:27 (ANCIENT BRIDGE)

Hopi cultural advisors viewed the "Anasazi Bridge" (AZ:C:9:27), located within River Reach 4, from the bank of the Colorado River. This feature dates to ca. AD 1050. It is located about two thirds of the way up a vertical cliff face of the Redwall formation. The bridge is constructed of Cottonwood driftwood to span a gap about 6.5 m. Using binoculars, Hopi cultural advisors counted 14 logs crisscrossing the 2 support beams in the ancient bridge. Hopi advisors thought there are more practical routes out of the canyon other than using this bridge. Therefore, these advisors suggested there must be a shrine or some other feature on top the cliff other than a route out of the canyon that

⁵⁶⁷ Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 5.

Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 10-11.

Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 42.

⁵⁶⁸ T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 13.

would cause people to build the bridge for access. Alternately, these advisors suggested that the bridge may have been used as a test of strength in a pilgrimage or initiation rite.⁵⁶⁹

Hopi cultural advisors recommend that the National Park Service change the name of this feature to the "*Hisatsinom* Bridge" or the "Ancient Bridge."⁵⁷⁰ Because it is a *Hisatsinom* site, the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office considers this to be a Hopi traditional cultural property.

AZ:C:9:32

AZ:C:9:32 is an ancient Puebloan site located in an alcove across the river from the "Ancient Bridge." There are also several granaries in this area. In 1995, Hopi cultural advisors visiting this site found some pictographs near the base of the alcove that the National Park Service did not previously know were there.⁵⁷¹ Hopi cultural advisors considered this and the nearby rock shelters to be *Hisatsinom* sites.

A large boulder on the river bank in the vicinity of AZ:C:9:32 was inspected by Hopi cultural advisors after a group of Zuni cultural advisors reported they found petroglyph trail markers on this rock. Hopi cultural advisors who examined this rock had a number of interpretations for various parts of the rock.⁵⁷² One cultural advisor said he thought the rock was a "map," and that one of the linear symbols served as a marker pointing to the site where *Hisatsinom* lived and built granaries. Another symbol was interpreted as the river. The consensus of the Hopi cultural advisors was that the rock incorporates symbols for corn, arrow, and lightening (Figure 49). These symbols may signify both the direction to go and lightning being brought onto the crops.

While viewing this rock, a cultural advisor related a story about how the Hopis chose the shortest ear of corn and how this represents long life. A short ear of corn is depicted on the rock. The arrow signifies rain clouds, lightening, thunder clouds. When the rains come, that is how the crops come up. This cultural advisor observed, "From just looking at the rock, you can make a story out of it." He thought the line on the rock may point to Vasey's Paradise. This advisor said that one can imagine the message the petroglyphs are telling; a picture comes to mind relating to the *Hisatsinom*.⁵⁷³

⁵⁶⁹ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 13.

Leigh Jenkins and Ben Nuvamsa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 16.

⁵⁷⁰ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 14-17.

⁵⁷¹ T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 14-17.

T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 15.

⁵⁷² Owen Numkena, Ronald Humeyestewa, Rex Talayumptewa, and Gilbert Naseyouma in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 14-17.

⁵⁷³ Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 14-17.

Hopi cultural advisors also pointed out ground areas of the rock that they thought were used for sharpening implements (Figure 50). These might have been used as ax shaping areas. There are hundreds of similar features near the Hopi village of Oraibi.⁵⁷⁴

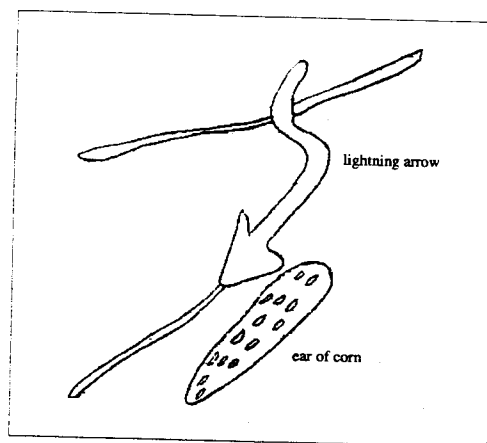


Figure 49. Primary symbols on boulder along the Lower Marble Canyon Reach. Drawing by Rex Talayumptewa, April 28, 1994.

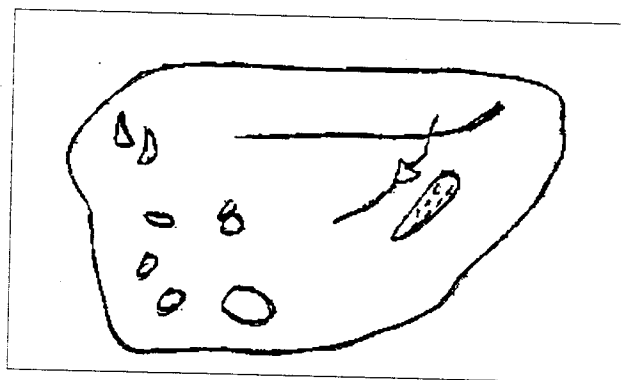


Figure 50. Boulder along the Lower Marble Canyon Reach. Sketch by T. J. Ferguson, April 28, 1994.

Two Hopi cultural advisors also said they saw a *nakwatsveni* or friendship sign at the upper left corner of the boulder (Figure 51).⁵⁷⁵ These symbols also occur in petroglyphs near the village of Bacavi on the Hopi Mesas.

⁵⁷⁴ Cultural advisors T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 13.

⁵⁷⁵ Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 14-17.

Cultural advisors T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 13.

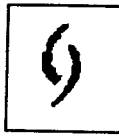


Figure 51. Friendship sign seen on boulder along the Lower Marble Canyon Reach. Drawn by Patrick Joshevama, October 8, 1994.

The Hopi cultural advisors who viewed the boulder along the Lower Marble Canyon Reach were not unanimous in interpretation about what they saw. Some Hopi cultural advisors suggested the symbols on the boulder within River Reach 4 are just natural features.⁵⁷⁶ They thought one line, for instance is not straight enough to have been a cultural feature. To these advisors, the rock simply looks like a place where tools were ground.

SADDLE CANYON

Saddle Canyon is located within River Reach 4. Hopi cultural advisors hiked up the canyon to a waterfall. These advisors pointed out many plants growing in the canyon that are important in Hopi ethnobotany. Hopi cultural advisors therefore think this is valuable area worth protecting.⁵⁷⁷

LITTLE NANKOWEAP CANYON

There is a *Hisatsinom* site at the mouth of Little Nankoweap Canyon, within River Reach 4.⁵⁷⁸ This site is located on an old river terrace. Archaeologists with the National Park Service located a Tsegi Orangeware pitcher eroding out of the escarpment of the bench at this location. There were also other ceramics present, including Deadman's Grayware, Tusayan Black-on-Red, and Black Mesa Black-on-White. All of these ceramic types date about AD 1100. There were two slate beads found in the pitcher. No human remains found associated with these ceramics. The Park Archaeologist reported that it is unusual to find so many ceramics and not any human remains. She said the vessels were collected in order to prevent their theft, and that they are not listed as grave goods since there are no associated human remains. If human remains are ever discovered at this location, the vessels will be reclassified as grave goods and reburied. This site is monitored on every National Park Service archaeology trip. The Park Archaeologist reported that there is a lot of buried archaeology on the terrace dunes at both Little Nankoweap Canyon and Big Nankoweap Canyon. Upstream along the Little Nankoweap drainage there are more ancient Puebloan sites.

⁵⁷⁶ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 13.

⁵⁷⁷ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 17-19.

⁵⁷⁸ T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 18.

The Park Archaeologist noted that this site is not in a secure area since so many river runners camp on the nearby beach. Hopi cultural advisors recommended that the ceramics collected at this location should remain in the National Park Service collection on the South Rim to protect them.⁵⁷⁹

AZ:C:9:49 (LITTLE NANKOWEAP CANYON)

On a hike up Little Nankoweap Canyon, Hopi cultural advisors stopped at archaeological site AZ:C:9:49, which had been characterized as a "bow and arrow cache." The site tag at this site indicates it was first recorded on October 19, 1990. It was discovered when boatmen accompanying a researcher found the site by noticing a cairn of rocks on a ledge in the cliff to the side of the trail. They went over to investigate and found the cache of six or seven "arrows."

The Hopi cultural advisors who inspected the cache expected to find *hoohu* (arrows) but an examination of the artifacts revealed that the "bows" were really *sooya* (digging sticks), and that the "arrows" were really lengths of *Songosivu* (*Calamovifa gigantea*), a "bamboo-like" reed.⁵⁸⁰ The Hopis suggested the reeds may have been used as pipe stems. This plant also has household uses, and is also used in the Hopi wedding ceremony. The digging sticks were flat pieces of carved oak with a handle. They had been "chopped" or carved with a stone tool. The *sooya* lacked the diagnostic attributes expected for bows, that is, notches for bow strings, and a thicker section at the handle in the middle of the bow.

There was some discussion about why these artifacts may have been cached here. Some of the Hopi cultural advisors thought that the person carrying the digging sticks and reeds decided his load was too heavy, so he left the artifacts there to pick up on a return trip. For whatever reason, this return trip was never made. The Hopis thought that perhaps the person was carrying food in addition to the artifacts and that it was more important to transport the food.

Hopi cultural advisors consider this a *Hisatsinom* site. It is thus a Hopi traditional cultural property.

AZ:C:9:151 (LITTLE NANKOWEAP CANYON)

Hopi cultural advisors hiked to a boulder on top of the Redwall in Little Nankoweap Canyon that is covered with petroglyphs. This site, designated as AZ:C:9:151, is covered with *Hisatsinom* petroglyphs and is thus a Hopi traditional cultural property. Shonto Black-on-white pottery is found in the general area surrounding the boulder with rock art.

Many of the petroglyphs at AZ:C:9:151 were interpreted as Hopi clan symbols.⁵⁸¹ These clans include *Tapngyam* (Rabbit Clan), *Tsungyam* (Rattlesnake Clan), *Pangwungyam* (Bighorn Sheep Clan), *Kuukutsngyam* (Lizard Clan), *Kwaangyam* (Eagle Clan), *Tepngyam* (Greasewood Clan),

⁵⁷⁹ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 18.

⁵⁸⁰ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 28-29.

⁵⁸¹ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 29-36.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 15.

Aalngyam (Deer Clan), and *Piqösngyam* (Bearstrap Clan). Figures 52 through 56 illustrate several of these clan symbols, as drawn by Hopi cultural advisors based on what they saw at the site.

Not all the petroglyphs at AZ:C:9:151 were considered to be clan symbols. One cultural advisor identified two petroglyphs associated with the eagle clan. These included a *Kookopölö* (Kokopelli) and bird tracks (Figure 57.) Cultural advisors discussed the *Kookopölö* image, saying it is often confused with the *Maahu*, another kind of flute player associated with an insect (cicada). It is the *Maahu* who has a flute, not the *Kookopölö*. The figure at this rock art site does not have a flute, so cultural advisors classified it as a *Kookopölö*.⁵⁸²

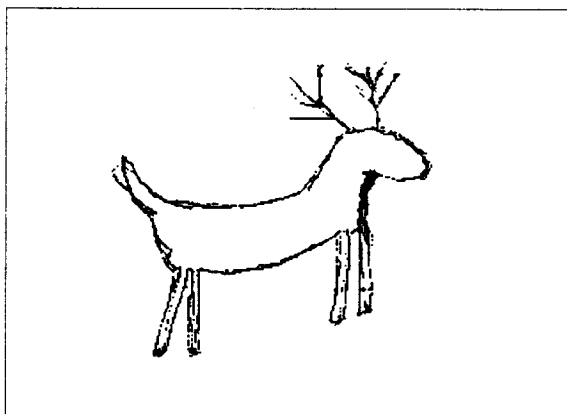


Figure 52. Deer Clan symbol at AZ:C:9:151. Drawn by Brad Balenquah, October 4, 1993.

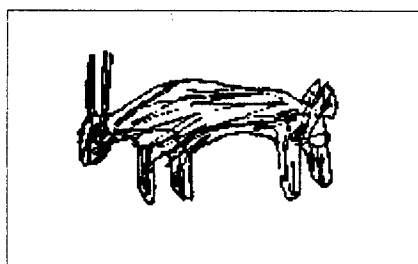


Figure 53. Rabbit Clan Symbol at AZ:C:9:151 identified by Walter Hamana. Drawn by Leigh Jenkins, October 4, 1993.

⁵⁸² Harlan Williams and Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 29-36.

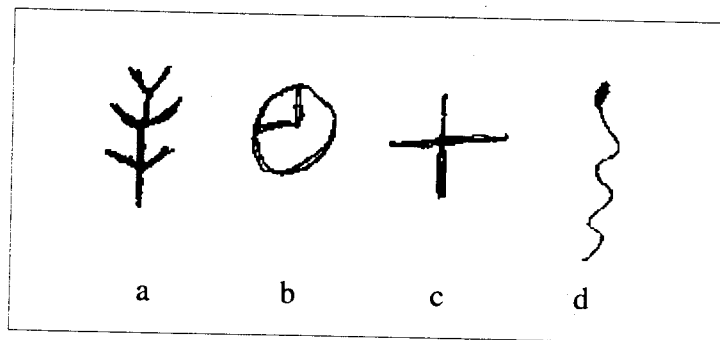


Figure 54. Clan Symbols identified at AZ:C:9:151 by Leigh Jenkins: (a) represents the Greasewood Clan; (b) is a depiction of a clan that has completed two directional migrations; (c) is a depiction of a clan that has completed four directional migrations; and (d) represents the Rattlesnake Clan. Drawn by Leigh Jenkins, October 4, 1993.

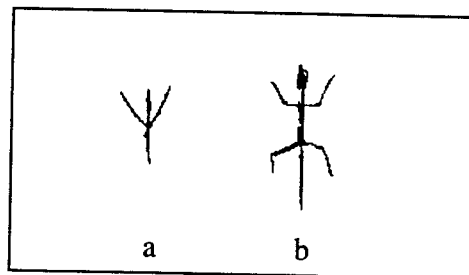


Figure 55. Clan symbols at AZ:C:9:151. (a) is Eagle Clan; (b) is Lizard Clan. Drawn by Leigh Jenkins, October 4, 1993.

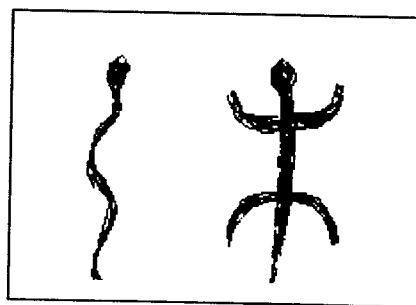


Figure 56. Clan symbols at AZ:C:9:151. Snake Clan symbol on left; Lizard Clan symbol on right. Drawn by Orville Hongeva, October 4, 1993.

Cultural advisors also saw *pangwu* (Mountain Sheep or Bighorn Sheep) petroglyphs at AZ:C:9:151 that were not considered to be clan symbols (Figure 58). These particular glyphs were interpreted as marking a successful hunt. Similarly, it was suggested that some rabbits and deer glyphs may also represent good hunts and not clans.

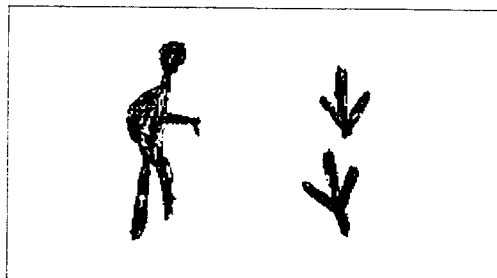


Figure 57. *Kookopölö* and bird tracks at AZ:C:9:151. Drawn by Harlan Williams, October 4, 1993.

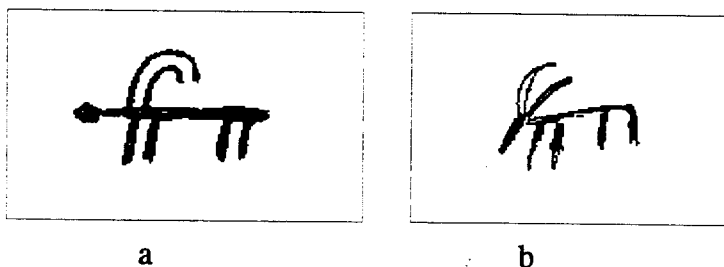


Figure 58. Mountain Sheep petroglyphs at AZ:C:9:151. (a) drawn by Harlan Williams; (b) by Leigh Jenkins, October 4, 1993.

There was also a petroglyph that a cultural advisor thought evoked the image of the granaries at Nankoweap (Figure 59).

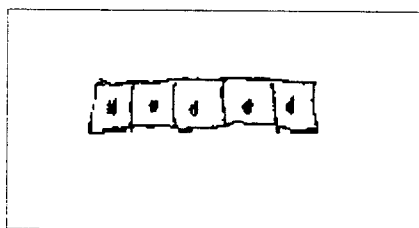


Figure 59. Petroglyph at AZ:C:9:151 similar to Nankoweap granaries. Drawn by Leigh Jenkins, October 4, 1993.

In examining AZ:C:9:151, the Hopi cultural advisors discussed the possibility that some glyphs are symbolic and tied to ritual, rather than clan marks or artistic depictions of animals. Leigh Jenkins thus advised not taking any of the interpretations of petroglyphs at this site as definitive until more thought is given to their meaning. The Hopi Cultural Preservation Office doesn't want unwarranted speculation about matters that are historically important to Hopi. It may be that the true meaning of some petroglyphs may never be discernible. Some petroglyphs may just be rock art and not carry ritual meaning.

NANKOWEAP

There are a number of *Hisatsinom* archaeological sites at the mouth of Nankoweap Canyon, within River Reach 4. These sites date to the period about AD 900-1100. All the *Hisatsinom* sites at Nankoweap are considered to be Hopi traditional cultural properties. Hopi cultural advisors call this area *Palatpela* ("Red Cliff").⁵⁸³

One of the archaeological sites examined by the Hopis is AZ:C:9:1c, a small settlement at the crest of a ridge overlooking the floodplain.⁵⁸⁴ In addition to a number of rooms, this site also includes a walled enclosure about 18m wide and 25 m long. There was considerable discussion about this feature. Some cultural advisors suggested the walled enclosure must have had a roof since the nearby granaries indicates the site had a long occupation. Other advisors suggested that if it is not a habitation feature, it was probably used as a ramada shelter to process and dry food. This sort of food processing requires a large area, and this may account for the unusually large size of this feature compared to the structures found in other *Hisatsinom* sites in the Grand Canyon.

A *mata* (metate) found at AZ:C:9:1c is evidence that people lived here and prepared food here. This particular *mata* is a *hakomta* used for coarse grinding. The Hopi cultural advisors thought corn was probably ground on this particular *mata* but noted that other plants are also ground on coarse metates, such as wild wheat and nuts. The Hopis think that a finer metate would probably be found at the site if the site were intensively investigated by archaeologists. The *mata* means food was being processed so there was communal activities being conducted.

Hopi cultural advisors thought that AZ:C:9:1c was a seasonally occupied site. They suggested paleo-environmental research is needed here to investigate this hypothesis. The location of the site is such that it would have provided a good lookout point for guarding the fields that must have been planted in the surrounding area. Cultural advisors suggested the fields would need to be protected from natural pests such as birds, and, perhaps, from human enemies.

Hopi cultural advisors suggested that some areas at this site with slabs may be underground ovens. If there were charcoal found at these features, that would be a correlate of this function.

⁵⁸³ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 14.

⁵⁸⁴ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 22-23.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp.: 17-18.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 19-20.

The area surrounding AZ:C:9:1c in the Nankoweap delta appears to the Hopis to be good farmland. The sandy soil would be good for squash, and the topography is appropriate for corn fields. One cultural advisor thought he saw berms in the area that may be used as a soil control feature in agricultural activities.

Hopi cultural advisors also visited the granaries at the top of the talus slope at Nankoweap (Figure 60). Many cultural advisors offered *hooma* (prayermeal) at this location. The presence of squash seeds in one of the granaries was taken as evidence they were used for storage of crops.

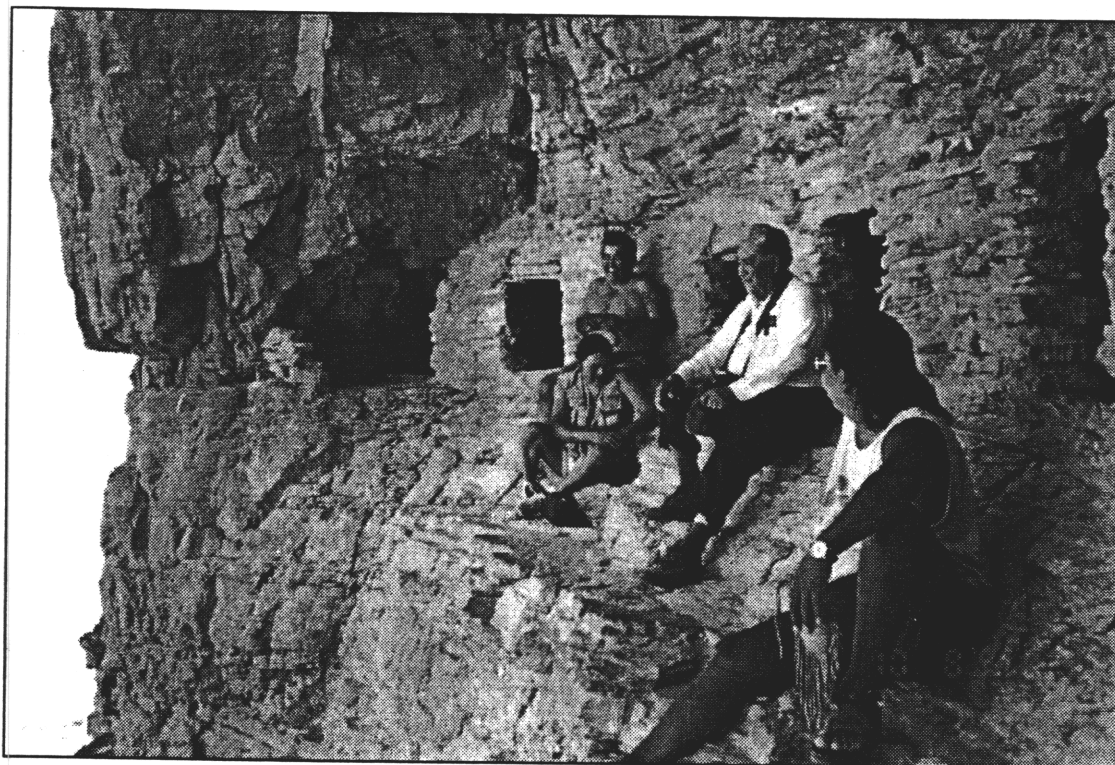


Figure 60. Wilton Kooyahoema, Victor Masayesva, Robert Sakiestewa, and Leigh Jenkins during visit to the granaries at Nankoweap. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, October 8, 1994.

The Hopis thought these structures are similar in some respects to the *waaki* ("run away houses") built near the Hopi villages. These *waaki* were used as defensive shelters during raids. However, the *waaki* have several architectural differences that distinguish them from the Nankoweap granaries. The *waaki* have a hole on the top and also have a large slab inside that can be sealed. The slab is placed inside the *waaki* before construction is completed. The *waaki* are constructed to make it possible to shoot arrows or lances from them. Cultural advisors noted that food and water were stored in the *waaki* in case of siege.

Several Hopi cultural advisors suggested that the granaries were used as food caches during clan migrations. An analogy was made to historic journeys of the Hopi. For instance, one advisor noted that in the time of his grandfather's grandfather there was a drought and Hopis went to the Rio

Grande.⁵⁸⁵ They used food caches along known routes to store food for use during the travel. Canyon de Chelly was one of places where these caches were located. It is a burden to carry things, so food and water were cached along the way for return travel and for others following along later.

Cultural advisors observed there has been a dramatic change in the streambed of Big Nankoweap Canyon between 1994 and 1995. There has been substantial lateral erosion of the streambed. It is clear that a lot of water came down this stream during the winter of 1994 or the spring of 1995. The trail that used to follow the streambed has been completely wiped out in many places.

Hopi cultural advisors visiting Nankoweap used a natural feature for an offering place at Nankoweap rather than constructing a *kiiyat* ("its home").⁵⁸⁶ This offering place is located off of the trails in an area that does not normally receive traffic. The location was shown to the Park Archaeologist so that the National Park Service can avoid impacting it. The Hopi think that although this offering place is not a formal shrine used for ritual purposes, it still deserves respect since it is part of the renewal of Hopi cultural interests in the Grand Canyon.

TATATSIWQTÖMUY KIIAM

Tatatsiwqtömu y Kiiam is one of several Hopi traditional cultural properties located along the Little Colorado River Gorge. *Tatatsiwqtömu y Kiiam* is a shrine near the mouth of Salt Trail Canyon associated with the Kooyemsi (Mudheads). This shrine is sometimes referred to as the Ochre Cave because this pigment can be collected there. During field work in 1991, Dalton Taylor from Shungopavi visited this cave and identified the remains of Hopi prayer sticks made for *Ma'saw* there.⁵⁸⁷

TATATSIWQTÖMUY ÖÖNGA'AM

Tatatsiwqtömu y Öönga'am is a salt seep in conglomerates within the Redwall formation located between Big Canyon and the mouth of Salt Trail Canyon. This Hopi traditional cultural property was recorded by Yeatts (1995:28-31) as site 91-009-1. Yeatts noted that the identification of this location as the salt belonging to *Tatasiqöm* is tentative.

HAWIÖNGA

Hawiönga is the "going down salt" located adjacent to the Little Colorado River between the mouth of Salt Trail Canyon and the *Sipapuni*. It is a salt seep in Muav formation. *Hawiönga* is a Hopi traditional cultural property recorded by Yeatts (1995:31-33) as site 91-009-2.

⁵⁸⁵ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 22.

⁵⁸⁶ T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 14.

T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 11.

⁵⁸⁷ Dalton Taylor in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, April 23, 1991, p. 2.

SIPAPUNI

The *Sipapuni* is a vitally important Hopi traditional cultural property in the Little Colorado River Gorge. It was recorded by Yeatts (1995:33-35) as archaeological site 91-009-03.

Eiseman (1959:27) provided an description of the sipapu. He stated it is,

... a rounded travertine dome, approximately 30 yards in diameter, roughly round at the base, about 20 feet high, and with a flat top about 15 feet in diameter. The stream side of this dome is somewhat higher than the north side. A pool of yellow water about 10 feet in diameter occupies most of the top of the dome. Gas bubbles ascend constantly through the water. The depth of the pool was not ascertained, but it must be fairly deep, since the pool was opaque and a sample of the water taken in a cup appeared almost colorless. A travertine encrusted log lies wedged in the pool. The pool spills over the east side of the dome down a chute, colored bright yellow by the mineral deposit, to the river below.

Hopi cultural advisors attested to the deep religious significance of the *Sipapuni* in Hopi culture.⁵⁸⁸ It is considered by all Hopis to be a most sacred and respected place that deserves protection. The associations of *Sipapuni* with the deity *Ma'saw* and Hopi ancestors imbue this location with a powerful spirituality. Water and *pavisa* (yellow pigment) collected from the *Sipapuni* are used for religious purposes. The fact that the *Sipapuni* is the only place that the Hopi people collect *pavisa* contributes to making this site a unique resource. Hopi *paaho* in the spring attest to recent religious use.

⁵⁸⁸ Douglas Coochwyte, Will Mase, Nelson Honyaktewa, and Wayne Susunkewa interview, June 25, 1991, p. 2.

Orville Hongeva and Gilbert Naseyouma interview, July 7, 1992, p. 2.

Ronald Humeyestewa interview, June 3, 1994, p. 3.

Interview with First Mesa Elders, November 13, 1991, p. 2.

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 3.

Eldridge Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, pp. 1-2.

Eldridge Koinva in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, August 26, 1992, p. 3.

Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 9.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 15.

Nat Nutongla interview, July 9, 1991, p. 10.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 18.

Esther Talayumptewa and Karen Shupla interview, August 1, 1991, p. 1.

Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, September 18, 1995, p. 1.

Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 44-45.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 19.

The *Sipapuni* is too important a place to make routine visits for managerial purposes. It was only after much deliberation with the Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team that the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office authorized cultural advisors to inspect the *Sipapuni* during field work in the Grand Canyon. This field work was undertaken for all the Hopi people to assess erosional damage and conservation measures that may be needed at the location. All visits to the *Sipapuni* during field work in the Grand Canyon were undertaken with a reverent attitude and the Hopi cultural advisors made ritual offerings while they were there. The Hopis visiting the *Sipapuni* reported they experienced the awesome sanctity of the place, and they felt their ancestors watching them while they were there.⁵⁸⁹

The *Sipapuni* has been subjected to a number of indignities by non-Indians. In 1906, Don Talayesva reported that, "Some ignorant, foolhardy Whites had plunged two poles into the sacred sipapu and left them standing against the west wall. Those profane fellows had desecrated the sacred spot where our ancestors—and theirs—emerged from the underworld. It was a great disgrace." In 1929, Alf Dickerson, Ace Walker, Frank Wyatt, and Walter Dickerson filed several placer mining claims in the Little Colorado River, including one for a twenty acre parcel that encompassed the *Sipapuni* (Taylor 1968). Hopi cultural advisors have continuing concerns about the sacrilege that results from non-Indian visitation to the *Sipapuni*.

The fact that Federal courts have awarded the land the *Sipapuni* is located on to the Navajo Nation is vexing for the Hopi Tribe.⁵⁹⁰ Several Hopi cultural advisors suggested that if the land is not under Hopi jurisdiction, it should be administered by the National Park Service rather than the Navajo Nation.⁵⁹¹

Hopi cultural advisors who inspected the *Sipapuni* are concerned about the erosion that is apparent at the base of the dome (Figure 61). Photographs of the *Sipapuni* in 1961 show the water in the spring was overflowing the top of the dome (Schwartz n.d.:64). As late as 1967, the water in the *Sipapuni* was still described as flowing out of the top (Fletcher 1967:183-185). About 1968, erosion at the base of the *Sipapuni* led to its current state, where water seeps out of the base rather than flows out of the top (Yeatts 1995:33-35). Hopi cultural advisors think something needs to be done to divert water away from the dome to protect it from erosion.⁵⁹² Several of these advisors who visited

⁵⁸⁹ Harlan Williams, Walter Hamana, Bradley Balenquah, Orville Hongoeva, and Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 44-46.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, pp. 17-21.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from Zuni-Hopi Meeting, April 8, 1994, p. 13.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 27, 1994, p. 3.

⁵⁹⁰ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 27, 1994, p. 3.

⁵⁹¹ Owen Numkena interview, July 3, 1994, p. 2.

⁵⁹² Dalton Taylor in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, April 23, 1991, p. 2.

Robinson Letseoma and Tom Kahe interview, September 30, 1991, p. 18.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 37-38.

Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 44.

the *Sipapuni* said a water control device is needed to divert the flow of the Little Colorado River away from the eroding base.



Figure 61. Water seeps out of the base of the *Sipapuni* where it has been eroded by the Little Colorado River. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, October 9, 1994.

C:13:66

This site is located in a cave in a side drainage of the Little Colorado River between the *Sipapuni* and the Colorado River. A *Hisatsinom* archaeological site within the cave has been designated C:13:66. There is a panel of pictographs of Hopi clan symbols executed in red hematite and black pigment on the back wall of the cave (Figure 62). Hopi cultural advisors identified these pictographs as symbols for either the *Honngyam* or *Honanngyam* (Bear or Badger Clan), the *Kokyangngyam* (Spider Clan), and the *Piqösngyam* (Bearstrap Clan).⁵⁹³ It was suggested that two

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 27, 1994, p. 3.

Ruby Chimerica interview, December 22, 1993, p. 6.

Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, p. 7.

Owen Numkena interview, July 3, 1994, p. 2.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 33.

Ronald Humeyestewa interview, June 3, 1994, p. 3.

⁵⁹³ Walter Hamana and Leslie David in Ferguson T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, pp. 12-13.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 36-38.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 18-22.

horizontal marks to the left of the clan symbols were tests of the pigments used to produce the pictographs, or that they represent the *Awatngyam* (Bow Clan). These pictographs were not present when Robert Euler excavated the cave in 1968. Hopi cultural advisors suggested these pictographs were produced by men from Shungopavi who used this cave as an offering place on a pilgrimage to *Öngtupqa* in the 1970s or 1980s. It was not possible to interview the men who participated in this pilgrimage during the GCES project, however, so this suggestions could not be confirmed. Hopi cultural advisors collected nodules of *suta* (hematite) from in front of the cave.

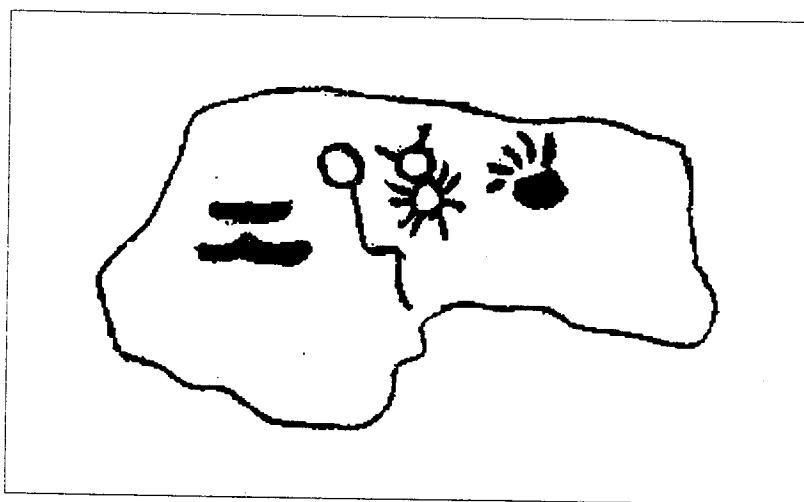


Figure 62. Pictographs at C:13:66 depicting (r-l) Bear or Badger Clan, Spider Clan, and Bearstrap Clan marks. Drawing by Ronald Humeyestewa, April 29, 1994.

BEAMER'S CABIN

Beamer's Cabin is located adjacent to the Little Colorado River. It consists of a building constructed by Ben Beamer about 1890 on top of an ancient *Hisatsinom* site. The archaeological deposits under the historic structure include Hopi, Paiute, and Cerbat ceramics (Jones 1986; Yeatts 1995:10-11). A hearth associated with Tusayan Ware ceramics was radiocarbon dated to AD 1295. Earlier deposits at the site date as early as AD 618.

Hopi cultural advisors who visited Beamer's Cabin were interested in the *Hisatsinom* remains that lie under the cabin, as well as in pictographs of hand prints located on the cliff adjacent to the cabin.⁵⁹⁴ One Hopi cultural advisor interpreted these hand prints as marks made by clan leaders to

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 44.

⁵⁹⁴ Eric Polingyouma and Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, pp. 4, 6-10.

Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 49.

Harlan Williams and other cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, December 13, 1994, p. 2.

claim this as their territory. Beamer's Cabin is a Hopi traditional cultural property because of the *Hisatsinom* archaeological deposits and pictographs at the site. It is place that also figures in Hopi oral traditions about pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa*. Hopi cultural advisors suggested a trail located on the bench above the cabin may be the original Hopi Salt Trail.

HOMVI'KYA (HOPI SALT TRAIL)

The Hopi Salt Trail traverses the Little Colorado River and then runs along the bench above the Colorado River to the Hopi Salt Mine. The stretch of the trail along the Colorado River is now called the Tanner or Beamer Trail by the National Park Service. This trail is a Hopi traditional cultural property.

A Hopi from Shungopavi who has hiked this trail to the Hopi Salt Mine reported that he found cairns along the trail that marked its route.⁵⁹⁵ This man described caching water along the trail, an old Hopi practice. He said, "And you make some [cairns] as you go down, so it will be there for somebody else. And what we learned, after the first time, we learned that you deposit water along the way. So, you're not carrying that big load the whole trip but at least you have available source of water when you make it back up."

During field work in 1995, a cairn was located at the top of the ravine leading down to the *hahawpi*, or "descent place" used to rappel down the cliff to the beach where the Hopi Salt Mine is located.⁵⁹⁶ This descent place is upstream from the Hopi Salt Mine. It is not known with certainty if the cairn at this location is associated with the Hopi Salt Trail but it is located off of the trail in a location that would be seen by Hopis traveling towards the Salt Mine from the Little Colorado River. This cairn is formed from about eight to ten loosely piled, unshaped rocks (Figure 63).

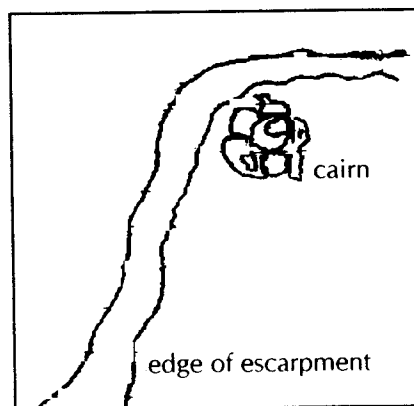


Figure 63. Cairn located at point adjacent to the *hahawpi*. Drawing by John Welch, May 18, 1995.

⁵⁹⁵ Nuvamsa interview, July 22, 1993, p. 2.

⁵⁹⁶ T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 25-26.

In the rincón above the *hahawpi*, there is an alignment of rocks that may be a small room outline or room space. This alignment is very indistinct, however, and may be a natural feature or a water control device to divert water away from the *hahawpi*. The feature consists of an "L" shaped alignment of rocks, one "course" high. A piece of milled lumber was located on a shelf above the *hahawpi*. There are two pieces of this milled wood, about 30 x 4 inches and 32 x 8 inches. Rex Talayumtewa also found a wood plank on the top of the ledge.

ÖÖNGA (HOPI SALT MINE)

Öönga, the Hopi Salt Mine, is located along the Colorado River. This Hopi traditional cultural property is important because it is the destination of a religious pilgrimage and a source of salt. *Öönga* is a shrine, and the salt collected here is considered to be sacred. The salt occurs as stalagmites and stalactites from seepage in two caves. "Fake salt" on the cliff face between the caves is also harvested and used in ceremonies, although less of this mineral is collected than the real salt inside the mine.⁵⁹⁷

The Hopi cultural advisors who visited *Öönga* during field work in the Grand Canyon left prayer offerings for *Öngwu'ti* (Salt Lady). Several of these advisors collected salt for use in ceremonial activities in their villages.⁵⁹⁸

A number of Hopi clan symbols occur as pictographs on the cliff face above the one of the salt caves (Figures 64 and 65). Hopi cultural advisors noted that the *Honngyam* (Bear Clan), *Kokyangngyam* (Spider Clan), and *Piqösngyam* (Bearstrap Clan) symbols at the Hopi Salt Mine are stylistically similar to the ones in the Powell Canyon Cave, and executed using the same pigments.⁵⁹⁹ Other design elements identified at the Hopi Salt Mine include the *Katsinngyam* (Katsina Clan), *naqwatsveni* (friendship sign), and cloud symbols (Figures 66 and 67). Photographs taken by Robert

⁵⁹⁷ Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 11.

Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1993, p. 26.

Interview with First Mesa Elders, November 13, 1991, p. 1.

Ferrell Secakuku, Oral Report, August 25, 1994, p. 6.

⁵⁹⁸ Dalton Taylor interview, July 7, 1993, p. 2.

Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, p. 9.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, pp. 10-11.

Orville Hongeva and other cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 44.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 22-23.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 17.

⁵⁹⁹ Leigh Jenkins T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 50.

Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, p. 19.

Walter Hamana and Leslie David in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 10.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 44.

Euler, the Grand Canyon National Park Anthropologist, in April 1975 document the hematite pictographs at the Salt Mine were present at that time (Coder 1994).

Hopi cultural advisors are concerned about the erosion of the beach in front of the Hopi Salt Mine and the implications this has for access to and preservation of this sacred site.⁶⁰⁰ Hopi cultural advisors recommend long-term monitoring of the beach in front of the Salt Mine. The Hopi Tribe wants to see the beach restored to where it was before it was impacted by the operation of Glen Canyon Dam. This goes beyond *stabilization*, especially if stabilization means no new deposition. The Hopi Tribe wants *restoration* of the beach.⁶⁰¹

Although the Hopi Salt Mines have been declared off-limits to non-Indian people, the Park Archaeologist acknowledges that non-Indians occasionally violate this ban and stop at this sacred site.⁶⁰² A tobacco pouch found at the Hopi Salt Mine in 1993 and a piece of Apache Tear obsidian found in 1994 may represent pseudo "offerings" by New Age adherents.

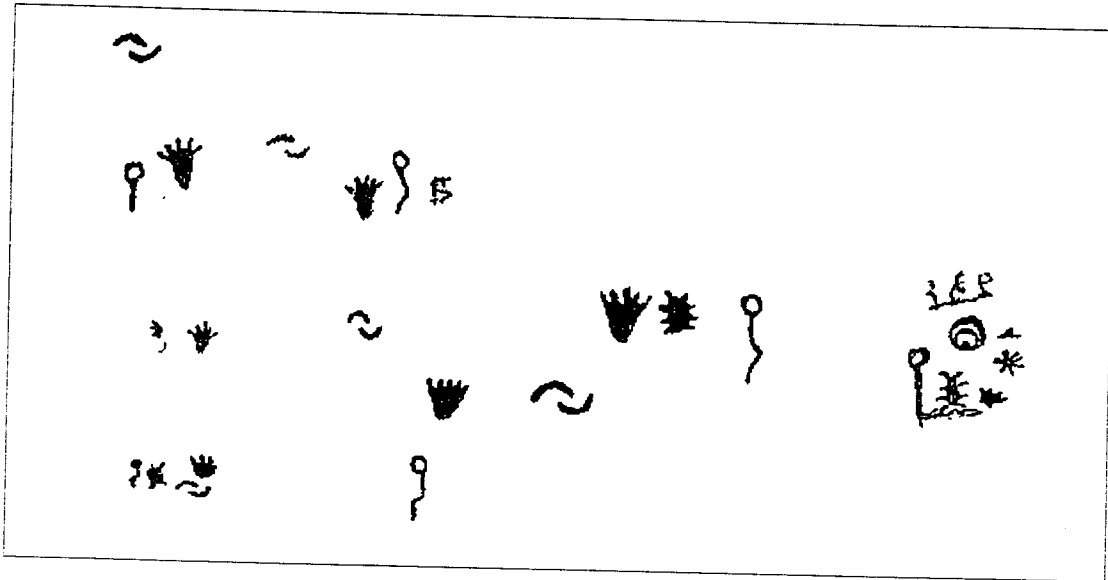


Figure 64. Pictographs at Hopi Salt Mine as recorded by the National Park Service in 1990
Adapted from National Park Service site form for AZ:C:13:3, drawing by T. Stewart and A. Crew.

⁶⁰⁰ Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, August 1, 1991, p. 5.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 57.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 38.

Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, p. 18.

Lee Wayne Lomayestewa interview, July 7, 1993, p. 26.

⁶⁰¹ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, September 18, 1995, p. 1.

⁶⁰² T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 22-23.



Figure 65. Ronald Humeyestewa pointing to pictographs above the Hopi Salt Mine. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, April 29, 1994.

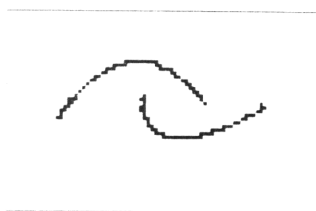


Figure 66. Pictograph of *naqwatsveni* or “friendship sign” seen at Hopi Salt Mine. Sketch by T. J. Ferguson, October 5, 1993.

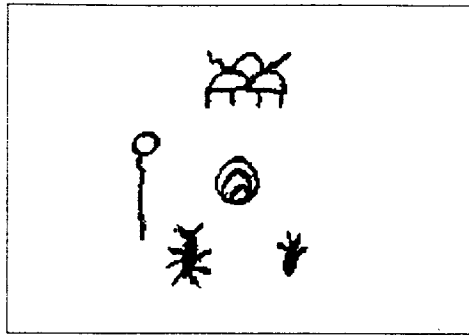


Figure 67. Clan marks and other symbols painted as pictographs at the Hopi Salt Mine.
Drawing by Michael Yeatts, October 5, 1993.

The Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team recommends that the Hopi Salt Mines remain off limits to all non-Indians and the National Park Service do whatever they can to enforce this restriction.⁶⁰³

AZ:C:13:99

A *Hisatsinom* archaeological site, designated AZ:C:13:99, is located within River Reach 5. The Black Mesa Black-on-white and Tsegi Orangeware ceramics observed at this site date to the period about AD 1050-1100. The archaeological deposits at AZ:C:13:99 are being impacted by soil erosion that the National Park Service thinks is related to headward cutting of a tributary arroyo. This headward cutting is apparently the result of a drop in the level of the river, compounded by the absence of new sediments entering the geomorphological system. These factors combine to cause headward erosion. Hopi cultural advisors are concerned about the erosion of this *Hisatsinom* site and recommend that remedial action be taken to stop further erosion and rehabilitate the site.⁶⁰⁴

Remedial erosion control using traditional Puebloan soil and water management techniques was begun at this site by a consortium of Native American consultants, the National Park Service, and the Bureau of Reclamation on September 15-17, 1995 (Yeatts 1995b). Rex Talayumptewa and Michael Yeatts represented the Hopi Tribe in this work.

AZ:C:13:132

Hisatsinom petroglyphs are located within River Reach 5. This archaeological site is designated AZ:C:13:132. The site is located outside of the impact zone of the Glen Canyon Dam and does not receive very much visitation. Hopi cultural advisors examining this site interpreted several

⁶⁰³ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, August 26, 1992, pp. 7-8.

⁶⁰⁴ Ronald Humeyestewa and other cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 25.

of the petroglyphs at this location as symbols related to migrations (Figure 68). One of the petroglyphs was interpreted as symbolizing fertility (Figure 68).⁶⁰⁵

Cultural advisors also identified a *Kuukutsngyam* (Lizard Clan) symbol at this site (Figure 70).⁶⁰⁶ When these petroglyphs were discussed with the Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, other advisors suggested they were made a long time ago to depict a man walking down the river and circling around.⁶⁰⁷ One of the migration symbols at AZ:C:13:132 is still used as a design on Hopi rattles and is also used to symbolize District 6 on the Hopi Indian Reservation (upper left figure in Figure 71). The other migration figure in Figure 71 (lower left) symbolizes a clan that completed its migration with respect to the four cardinal directions, and which has begun exercising stewardship responsibilities.

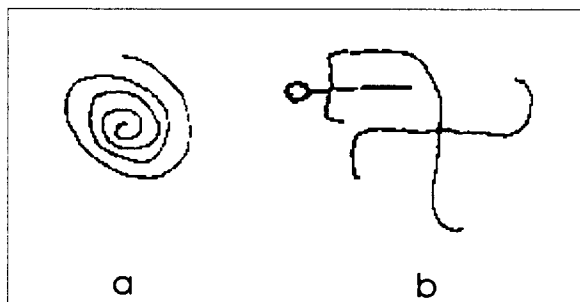


Figure 68. Petroglyphs at AZ:C:13:132; (a) is a migration symbol; (b) represents migrations to the four cardinal directions. Drawn by Leigh Jenkins, October 6, 1993.

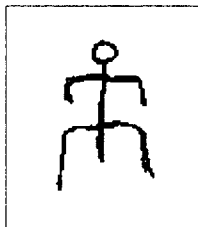


Figure 69. Petroglyph at AZ:C:13:132 representing fertility. Drawn by Leigh Jenkins, October 6, 1993.

⁶⁰⁵ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 46-47.

⁶⁰⁶ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 27-29.

⁶⁰⁷ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, May 27, 1994, p. 4.

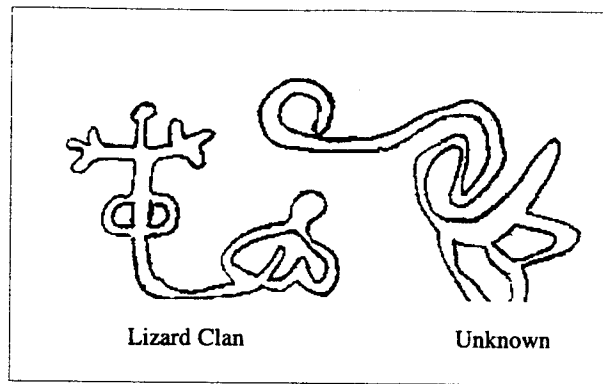


Figure 70. Lizard and unknown symbol across from AZ:C:13:132, drawn by Owen Numkena, April 30, 1994.

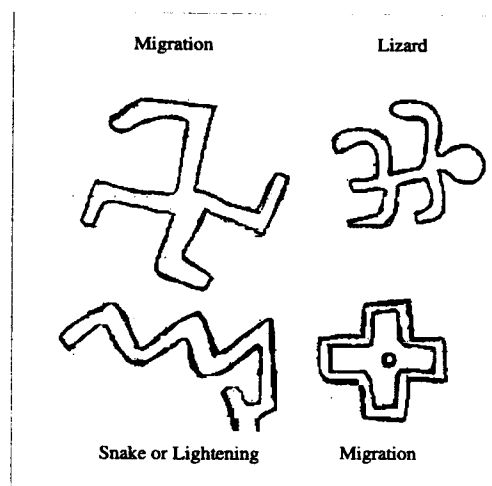


Figure 71. Petroglyphs AZ:C:13:132. Drawing by Ronald Humeyestewa, April 30, 1994.

AZ:C:13:273

AZ:C:13:273 is a *Hisatsinom* archaeological site located within River Reach 5. The site consists of a roasting feature, fire-cracked rock, grinding stones, and abundant artifacts dating to the period about AD 1050-1100. The National Park Service is managing the trails in this location, moving them so they don't cross archaeological sites.

Hopi cultural advisors said they thought the plans of the National Park Service to move trails and install check dams to prevent erosion are appropriate measures to protect this cultural resource.⁶⁰⁸ Some of this remedial work began in the fall of 1994, with Michael Yeatts of the Hopi

⁶⁰⁸ Ronald Humeyestewa and other cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 26-28.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 27-29.

Cultural Preservation Office participating in the archaeological testing that accompanied the work. Future remedial work will involve the Bureau of Reclamation as well as the National Park Service. Hopi cultural advisors recommended this work be monitored to make sure it is effective.

Hopi cultural advisors also said they think more money should be spent at this and other locations to protect *Hisatsinom* cultural resources from the adverse impacts of erosion. These advisors recommend that an administrative structure be developed that allows the National Park Service and Bureau of Reclamation to respond rapidly to erosional problems impacting sites.

OPPOSITE CARDENAS CREEK

A *Hisatsinom* petroglyph occurs on a cliff face opposite Cardenas Creek, within River Reach 5 (Figure 72). Hopi cultural advisors interpreted the spiral element in this petroglyph as a migration symbol.⁶⁰⁹ The center of the petroglyph represents *Qatsi* and the *Sipapuni*. The different bands represent a migration going counterclockwise. Long life is symbolized by this petroglyph. The tick at the very end of the spiral may signify another journey was added on to the end of the migration. The bear paw was to the downstream side of the spiral.

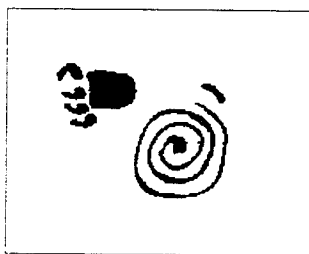


Figure 72. Petroglyphs across from Cardenas Creek. Drawing by Ronald Humeyestewa, April 30, 1994.

AZ:13:10

AZ:C:13:10 is a *Hisatsinom* archaeological site within River Reach 5. There are multiple prehistoric structures at this site, most of which are experiencing severe erosional problems. Walls and other architectural structures can be seen eroding from arroyo walls. The village buried under a sand dune at AZ:13:10 had three occupations about AD 800, AD 1050, and AD 1175. Hopi pottery occurs at this site in the form of Jeddito Yellowware, a ceramic type that dates to the post-1300 period. Hopi cultural advisors noted the presence of manos and metates in the artifact assemblage of this site.

The National Park Service began to study this site in 1989, before the United States Geological Survey began the on-going study of erosion at this site. The National Park Service has excavated features in the arroyo cuts to salvage data that was being destroyed. The Park Archaeologist observed that headcutting of arroyos started at this site after the construction of Glen Canyon Dam prevented the regeneration of sands. The arroyo was very shallow in 1960s, and only a few storage

⁶⁰⁹ Ronald Humeyestewa and other cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 29-30.

cysts were visible at that time. The situation since that time has deteriorated rapidly. After the flood of 1983, the Park Archaeologist found new materials exposed, including walls, rooms, a pot cover, sherds, and lithics. Headcut erosion extended from the river up into the archaeological site. In addition to erosion, in the past the site has also impacted by vandalism in the form of pot hunting. The National Park Service river regulations forbid people to stop here since the archaeological site is so fragile.

Some Hopi cultural advisors suggested AZ:C:13:10 may represent a seasonal occupation since traditional Hopi migration accounts indicate that the site would have only been occupied on a temporary basis.⁶¹⁰

The erosion occurring at AZ:13:10 creates a dilemma for Hopi cultural advisors.⁶¹¹ Some advisors reported they did not like seeing significant archaeological deposits destroyed by erosion without first being studied by archaeologists. At the same time, these cultural advisors thought inasmuch as the erosion stems from natural causes there is no reason to further disturb the archaeological deposits by archaeological excavation. The Hopi cultural advisors inspecting the site ultimately decided that consultation is needed with the entire Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team before any recommendation can be made about how to treat the erosion at this site.

While visiting the site, a cultural advisor saw some bones exposed in an arroyo cut and several advisors went down into the arroyo to investigate them. The Park Archaeologist also inspected these bones but they were too fragmentary to determine whether or not they are human remains; they may be deer bones. A large rock was placed over these bones to protect them, and the Hopis offered *hooma* (prayermeal). Some advisors thought the association of these bones with pottery indicated that this was a burial.

Some cultural advisors recommended that the bones exposed at this location need to be preserved. These advisors suggested that even if the erosion at the site is natural, all human burials should be protected so that the deceased person has a chance to finish their final physical journey. Other advisors were of the opinion that natural erosion should continue unabated. Some advisors held both opinions at the same time, indicating the dilemma that this issue holds for the Hopi.⁶¹²

⁶¹⁰ Leigh Jenkins and other cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 51-52.

⁶¹¹ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, pp. 51-52.

T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 30-32.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, pp. 20-22.

⁶¹² Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 30-32.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 22.

Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from Zuni-Hopi Meeting, May 13, 1994, p. 8.

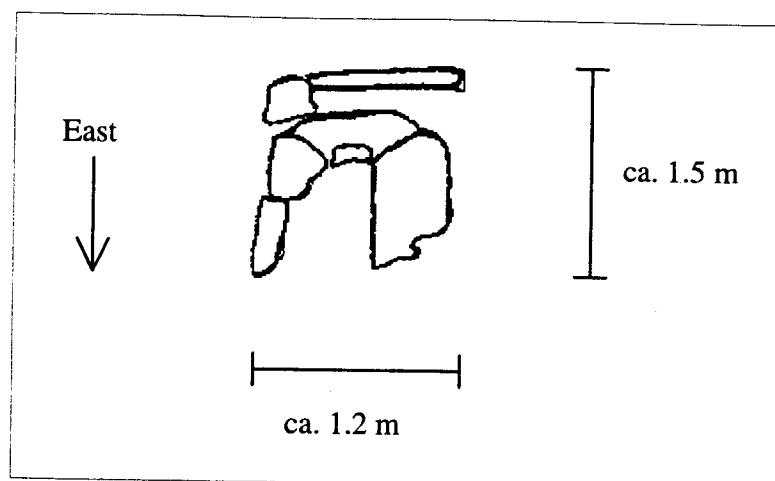


Figure 73. Plan of stone feature at AZ:13:10. Sketch by T. J. Ferguson, April 30, 1994.

PETROGLYPH WITHIN RIVER REACH 5

In rafting down the river, Hopi cultural advisors noticed a petroglyph on a cliff on the right side of the river within River Reach 5. One cultural advisor identified this glyph as a *Piqösngyam* (Bearstrap Clan) mark (Figure 74), while another identified it as a tobacco pouch.⁶¹³ Michael Yeatts inspected this same petroglyph, which was definitely pecked, and said it looked like an "R" with a straight line underneath it. It was only possible to examine the petroglyph while floating by it so the variation in observations was not investigated further.

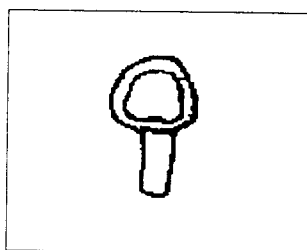


Figure 74. Bearstrap Clan or tobacco pouch petroglyph. Drawing by Ronald Humeyestewa, April 30, 1994.

⁶¹³ Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 32.

Walter Hamana, personal communication, December 12, 1996.

AZ:C:13:271

AZ:C:13:271 is an archaeological site located within River Reach 5. This site is being impacted by erosion. For this reason, the site was discussed from the river bank without actually setting foot on it. This is a difficult site to monitor since it is so fragile and the bank of the river is cutting close to the site. The Park Archaeologist pointed out that monitoring a fragile site sometimes creates adverse impacts worse than the natural processes that may be affecting the site. The Hopi cultural advisors concurred with the National Park Service that revegetating the eroding ruins here is a good idea. They recommended that some form of erosion control be undertaken at this site.⁶¹⁴

AZ:C:13:1 (UNKAR DELTA)

A large *Hisatsinom* archaeological site designated AZ:C:13:1 is located at Unkar Delta, within River Reach 5. The terrace at this location is higher than at Furnace Flats so the main part of the site is not flooded by the river. The site sits on a stable terrace and there are no sand dunes. The archaeological remains at Unkar Delta were excavated by archaeologists in the 1967 and 1968 (Schwartz, Chapman, and Kepp 1980)

Unkar Delta was a long occupational history, extending from about AD 900 to 1150. Fifty-two architectural units, including habitations and kivas, were used at various times during the occupation of the site. Some architectural units were converted into gridded gardens during the later occupation. The presence of Hopi yellow ware sherds dating after AD 1250 indicate the site was still being used for limited activities after the primary occupation ended. With respect to these Hopi sherds, Schwartz, Chapman and Kepp (1980:188) wrote,

These vessels probably reflect the extensive trade that was carried out after A.D. 1300 between the Hopis and the Paiutes to the north of the Grand Canyon ... The fact that the latest items on the delta are connected with the Hopi culture is suggestive of the final direction of retreat of the canyon's inhabitants and of the Hopi myth that their ancestors emerged from their original sipapu in the bottom of the Grand Canyon

The Park Archaeologist explained that the occupation at Unkar Delta is part of a larger settlement pattern that includes sites extending up to the North Rim of the Grand Canyon, a distance of about 23 km. She noted that the collections from this site are curated at the Western Archaeological Center in Tucson.

Hopi cultural advisors recognized the archaeological deposits at Unkar Delta as ancestral to Hopi, especially the architectural units with kivas and plazas.⁶¹⁵ One of the advisors noted that the room blocks with the most massive walls were located close to the river, and the building here may have been constructed with thicker walls to offset the cold air drainage.

⁶¹⁴ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 33.

⁶¹⁵ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1993 River Trip, p. 55.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 33-37.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 21.

While inspecting AZ:C:13:1, two Hopi cultural advisors used binoculars to scan the horizon.⁶¹⁶ They observed a hill with what appears to be a possible shrine on it located to the west, southwest of the site (Figure 75). This feature looked curious to the cultural advisors, but whether or not it is a shrine could not be determined without hiking to it. The Park Archaeologist suggested that this feature may be a USGS cairn marking a survey point.

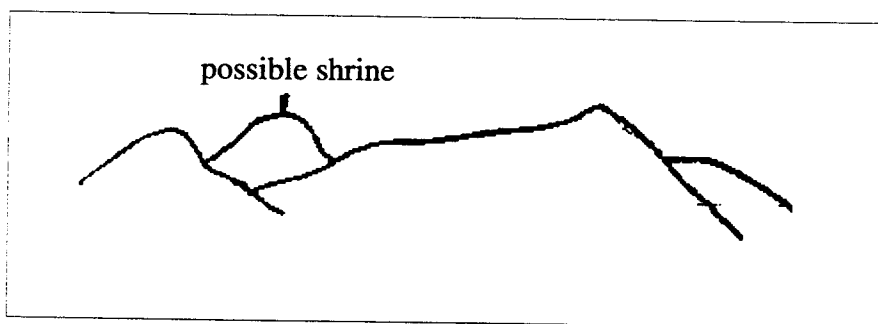


Figure 75. Landscape with possible shrine on hilltop observed by Byron Tyma at Unkar Delta. Sketch by T. J. Ferguson, May 1, 1994..

The Park Archaeologist noted that Unkar Delta receives a lot of visitation because its proximity to the river makes it a convenient stop for commercial river trips, and the National Park Service has developed an interpretive brochure that facilitates a self-guided tour of the site. The impact of tourist visitation is evident in the "sherd piles" that have been created at various parts of the site (Figure 76). Painted pottery is also being removed from the site by tourists. The National Park Service discourages the piling or theft of pottery but it still occurs. Hopi cultural advisors considered this sherd piling to be an adverse impact to the site caused by tourist visitation. They suggested better management or education is needed to eliminate this type of vandalism.⁶¹⁷

AZ:C:13:70, AZ:C:13:348, AND AZ:C:13:387

AZ:C:13:70, AZ:C:13:348, and AZ:C:13:387 are three *Hisatsinom* archaeological sites located within River Reach 5.

At AZ:C:13:70 there are several eroding site features, including two upright manos eroding out of the surface, with a metate adjacent to them. The Hopi cultural advisors noted that manos generally occur in pairs, one to crack corn and the other to grind it more finely. Within the last several years, approximately 5 to 7 cm of sediments have been removed by erosion at this site. Hopi cultural advisors recommended that the National Park Service manage the water flow at this site to divert runoff away from this feature. The cultural advisors felt the eroding artifacts should be

⁶¹⁶ Byron Tyma and Owen Numkena in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 33-37.

⁶¹⁷ Hopi cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 33-37.

preserved *in situ*. If this is not possible, the advisors recommended the manos be moved elsewhere on the site so they are not lost.⁶¹⁸

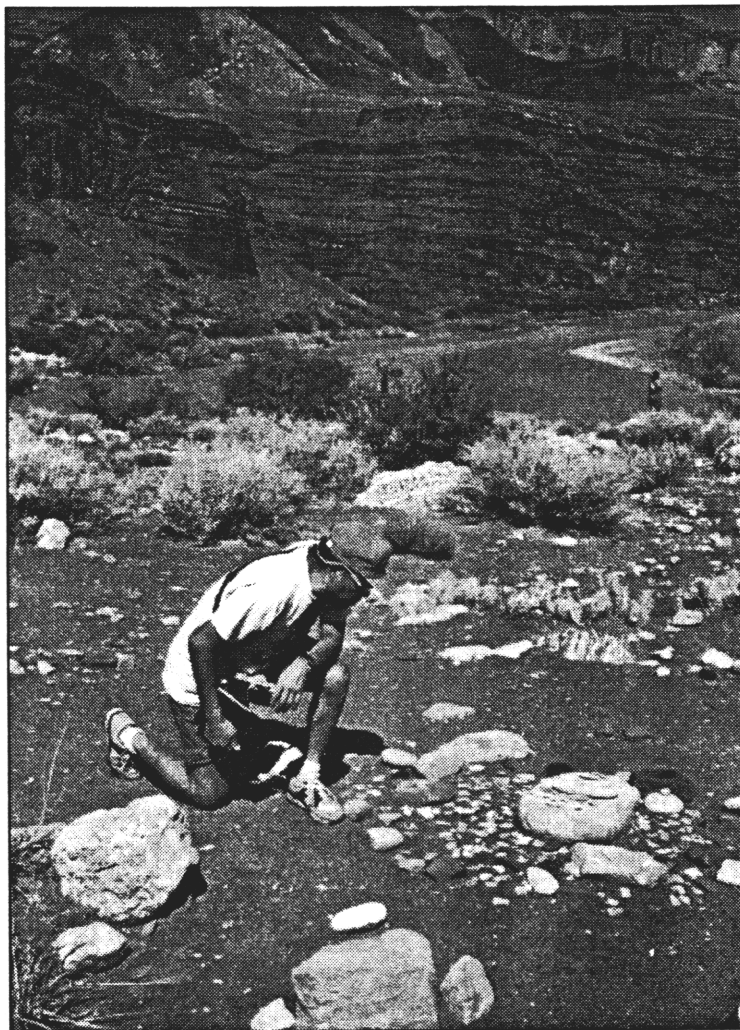


Figure 76. Orville Hongoeva inspects “sherd piling” at AZ:C:13:1 on Unkar Delta. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, October 7, 1993.

A “rock pile” is located adjacent to the feature with the upright manos at AZ:C:13:70. While the National Park Service interprets this feature as a roasting pit, Hopi cultural advisors suggested a variety of other interpretations, including house remains, a burial area, a stockpile of building

⁶¹⁸ Ronald Humeyestewa and Rex Talayumtewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 37-38.

materials, an eagle capturing structure, or a shrine.⁶¹⁹ Hopi cultural advisors thought that excavation would be required to verify its function. Such excavation was not recommended, however, since the structure is not being adversely impacted by human land use.

A pendant manufactured from soft travertine or soapstone was found in association with the rock pile feature at AZ:C:13:70 (Figure 77).

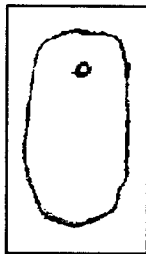


Figure 77. Pendant found at archaeological site C:13:70, tracing at actual size.

AZ:C:13:348 is a rockshelter that includes of a small, shallow bedrock mortar (grinding area). This is located on a rock at the upstream end of the rockshelter. There is also a metate on the floor of the overhang. There is some red paint on the wall of the rockshelter. Some Hopi cultural advisors interpreted these painted designs as pictographs of a *Piqösngyam* (Bearstrap Clan) symbol, and, possibly, a frog with a dot next to it (Figure 78). Other advisors interpreted them as a tobacco pouch and *Piivawu'uti* (Tobacco Woman). These interpretations were tentative because the paint was so faint.⁶²⁰

The third site consists of a feature of upright slabs on the slope of the hill. Hopi cultural advisors who inspected this feature suggested it was part of a buried house. One of these advisors related this feature to a granary that is visible in an alcove across the river (AZ:C:13:11).⁶²¹ The terrace is being heavily eroded at this location and Hopi cultural advisors recommended some remedial treatment is needed in order to protect the archaeological deposits.

While at this location, Hopi cultural advisors noticed the Angels Window and the hole through Cardenas Butte, both of which are natural holes in the rock formations forming the skyline on either side of Grand Canyon. The Hopis suggested these holes may have had ritual significance related to the occupation of the archaeological sites in this location.⁶²²

⁶¹⁹ Gilbert Naseyouma and Rex Talayumtewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 37-38.

Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 32.

⁶²⁰ Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 37-38.

⁶²¹ Byron Tyma and other cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 37-38.

⁶²² Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, p. 32.

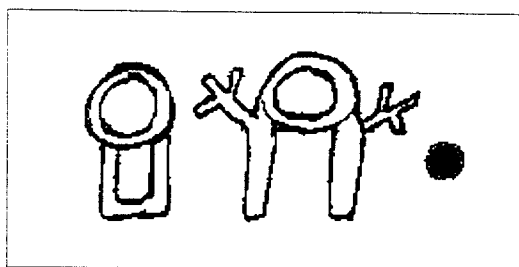


Figure 78. Red painted designs at rock shelter at C:13:348. Drawing by Ronald Humeyestewa, May 1, 1994.

BRIGHT ANGEL PUEBLO

The Bright Angel Pueblo is located near Phantom Ranch, within River Reach 6. This was one of the sites that John Wesley Powell referred to as a "Moki Ruin" in the nineteenth century. The site includes a small pueblo room block and a subterranean kiva. After this site was flooded early in its occupation, the inhabitants reconstructed the room block further up the river bank. Deposits of river sand in the lowest rooms of the site provide evidence for this event. The site was occupied about AD 1050-1160. The Hopi cultural advisors who inspected this site confirmed that this is a *Hisatsinom* village. They recommended that the interpretative sign that refers to this site as an "Anasazi" pueblo be changed so that it is called a *Hisatsinom* site.⁶²³

AZ:B:16:3

An archaeological site designated AZ:B:16:3 is located within River Reach 6. This site includes a four low-walled masonry enclosures on a bench above the river. The National Park Service identified this as a Puebloan site dating to about AD 1050-1100. There are no historic artifacts at this site. During the 1983 floods, a submerged boulder field created a dangerous rapid in the river adjacent to AZ:B:16:3, and the National Park Service made commercial river runners walk their passengers around this hazard. At this time, the AZ:B:16:3 was heavily impacted by people walking over it and many artifacts disappeared.

Hopi cultural advisors were interested in this site because the Navajo Nation claims one of the structures here is a hogan (Roberts, Begay and Kelley 1995:40). The Hopi cultural advisors who inspected this feature did not agree that this structure was a hogan (Figure 79).⁶²⁴ They thought an interpretation of a hogan based on a structure having an opening to the east was too simplistic. These advisors noted that facing a structure east can highlight Hopi teachings (like the *pahoki*), or, more practically, be undertaken to heat the buildings up quickly in the morning. Many Hopi *tuwaapa* (a

⁶²³ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 41.

⁶²⁴ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 42-44.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 33-36.

type of underground pithouse with a timber and mud superstructure) are oriented towards the east for this practical reason.



Figure 79. Hopi and Zuni cultural advisors discuss architectural structure at AZ:B:16:3 with Jan Balsom, the Grand Canyon National Park Archaeologist. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, May 20, 1995.

Hopi cultural advisors suggested that AZ:B:16:3 was a seasonally used campsite related to the availability of plants the ancient people were collecting.⁶²⁵ If the *Hisatsinom* were processing a lot of agave they might have a reason to come to a place this far west in the Grand Canyon. Agave matures in the fall, and this would draw people down here at that time to collect and process *kwaani* (agave). The cultural advisors suggested the structures were used as windbreaks to shelter families. The large structure would have been used to shelter women and children, the smaller structure may have been used for storage.

Hopi cultural advisors also suggested AZ:B:16:3 might be a Pai site since it is located some distance from Unkar Delta. The Puebloan ceramics at such a site might represent trade wares. Hopi cultural advisors stressed they don't want the Hopi Tribe to make politically oriented claims of cultural affiliation. It may be that AZ:B:16:3 is a multicomponent site used by more than one group of people. Hopi cultural advisors said that if the cultural affiliation of this site is controversial, then

⁶²⁵ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 42-44.

archaeological excavations may be required to settle this issue. Since the site is not otherwise threatened, however, they do not favor excavation.

Hopi cultural advisors said that they value the history represented at this site and that they are not comfortable with multiple and conflicting interpretations. The consensus of the Hopi (and Zuni) cultural advisors is that determination of a valid cultural affiliation for this site is an important issue and that the site cannot be all things to all people. If the site is Puebloan it cannot and should not be interpreted as Navajo.⁶²⁶

SHINUMO CREEK

At Shinumo Creek, within River Reach 6, Hopi cultural advisors noted that *sinom* means people and *sinmuy* means "the people's."⁶²⁷ Hopi cultural advisors thought these Hopi words relate to the placename attached to this creek. They suggested that Shinumo is a corruption of *sinmuy*. In this regard, it is relevant to note that John Wesley Powell's early field notes refer to the Hopis as the Shinomu; his later notes call them the Moki (Powell 1869-1872). There are *Hisatsinom* pueblos located on a bench across the river at this point.

DEER CREEK

Deer Creek is located within River Reach 8. There is an impressive gallery here where there is a constriction in the canyon walls with about 60 pictographs made by spraying white clay around hand prints to form silhouettes. There are both left and right hand prints present. Further up Deer Creek where the valley spread out there are *Hisatsinom* farming sites, as well as habitation areas. These archaeological features date to the AD 900-1100 period, and are associated with Moapa Grayware ceramics. There are also roasting pits in the valley. A large spring is present at the head of the valley.

In addition to hand prints, Hopi cultural advisors suggested other symbols are present in the gallery at Deer Creek, including *Tsungyam* (Rattlesnake Clan) and *Paakwangyam* (Frog totem of the Water Clan) symbols, and possibly, a *Piqösngyam* (Bearstrap Clan) mark. They suggested these pictographs may mark a trail, or that the smaller prints may have been the result of children's play activities. These advisors noted that even today Hopi children chew clay and spit it out at their hands to make silhouettes.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁶ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 33-36.

⁶²⁷ Leigh Jenkins and Walter Hamana T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 44.

⁶²⁸ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 46-49.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 21.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 38-39.



Figure 80. Handprints of the *Hisatsinom* at Deer Creek, made by blowing white paint to form silhouettes. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, May 21, 1995.

Hopi cultural advisors inspected the linear masonry features that occur in Deer Creek. While the National Park Service interprets these features as an irrigation canal, Hopi cultural advisors suggested they are part of trail system. The features abutting the linear alignments were interpreted as storage features constructed with wattle and daub on masonry foundations. Alternately, the advisors suggested the linear alignment may be a water control feature constructed to protect the downslope farming areas. The Hopis also suggested there may be an esoteric explanation for this alignment but were not free to discuss it with non-Indians without prior consultation with the Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team. Ultimately the advisors decided that all of the various explanations may be partially correct. The wall could serve multiple functions, i.e., a trail that spread out and controlled water flow to downstream enclosures for use in some form of agriculture.⁶²⁹

Hopi cultural advisors observed that Deer Creek has a fairly harsh environment and a small number of houses. The *Hisatsinom* who lived there would need a tight community in order to survive. This suggested to the advisors that there was probably a seasonal occupation of the valley, and that the main community the people belonged to was located elsewhere.

⁶²⁹ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 46-49.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 21.

AZ:B:10:1

AZ:B:10:1 is *Hisatsinom* settlement located in a rock shelter within River Reach 8. This site is sometimes called "Panchos." The settlement was occupied about AD 1050-1100. There are three architectural structures here, one of which appears to be a "wannabe" structure built relatively recently. The site is deteriorating, and in the past there has been a problem with people digging at this site. It is outside the river corridor for GCES since the rock shelter is higher than the old high water line. A granary at the site was stabilized by the National Park Service. The National Park Service plans to fill in the vandalized potholes but has no plans to excavate the site. AZ:B:10:1 is monitored by the National Park Service every year.

Hopi cultural advisors recommended more frequent monitoring may be required at this site to curb vandalism.⁶³⁰ Some Hopi cultural advisors thought the recent deterioration of the site architecture was serious enough that access to the site should be restricted. The Park Archaeologist noted that the National Park Service can note the changes that happen from vandalism but they can't limit access to the site. The site is visible from the river and located within walking distance of a campsite. That means people are going to stop here to check it out. The Hopi cultural advisors concurred with the Park Archaeologist that the preparation of an interpretive brochure to educate tourists about the historic values of the site may be an effective management tool. Hopi cultural advisors thought stabilization of the architectural remains at the site is a good idea.

Hopi cultural advisors noticed a small feature on the far downstream end of AZ:B:10:1, and suggested this feature may be a shrine rather than a hearth. This feature faces in the right direction with respect to the winter sun to be a shrine, and *Hisatsinom* villages have shrines in their plazas used during ceremonies. These shrines have one side which is open. There are other shrines located outside of villages that are used before village ceremonies.

AZ:A:16:160

AZ:A:16:160 is an archaeological site with cooking pit features. There are lithics and grinding stones present, but no ceramics. Hopi cultural advisors suggested the site may be a hunting camp or seasonal resource collection site associated with a larger settlement. They also suggested it may be associated with a Pai group rather than the *Hisatsinom*.⁶³¹

AZ:A:16:153

AZ:A:16:153 is an archaeological site with roasting pits located within River Reach 10. The fire-cracked rocks at this site were reused until they were so small they could no longer be used anymore. The site also has architectural structures consisting of low wall enclosures. The ceramics at this site include Lower Colorado Buffware and Tizon Brownware. Tizon is a Cerbat ceramic ancestral to the Hualapai. Lower Colorado Buffware is ancestral to either the Pai or Paiute, according to National Park Service archaeologists. There are many grinding stones at this site, probably used for processing mesquite or cactus.

⁶³⁰ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 50-52.

⁶³¹ Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 55-56.

Hopi cultural advisors suggested the manos at this site may have been used for pounding agave. The surfaces of these stones have been pounded as well as ground. Since agave is fibrous, processing it requires pounding, slabbing, baking, and then sun-drying. After processing, agave tastes like figs.⁶³²

AZ:A:16:1 (WHITMORE WASH)

AZ:A:16:1 is an archaeological site at Whitmore Wash, within River Reach 10. There are red and white pictographs on the wall of a low overhang at this location. The National Park Service has not determined the cultural affiliation of the pictographs, and they seem to span a period from the late Archaic through AD 1200. Western Kayenta ceramics ancestral to Hopi have been found at this site. A 1 m wide test trench was dug at this site when the National Park Service stabilized a midden by building a retaining wall in the early 1980s.

Hopi cultural advisors thought the retaining wall was well-constructed and is working to retain the sediments and prevent their erosion.⁶³³

One Hopi cultural advisor suggested that the *Motisinom* of *Hisatsinom* may have stopped at Whitmore Wash when they came into the Grand Canyon on their way to get *suta* within River Reach 10.⁶³⁴ He thought people might have stopped here for a few days to rest. They might then have marked what they saw when they were in the canyon, e.g., a snake, a sun, and so forth.

Many Hopi advisors had difficulty in interpreting the complete complex of pictographs at AZ:A:16:1.⁶³⁵ Some individual elements were interpretable but many were not. Some advisors reported they didn't see a lot of religious symbols at the site. Other advisors suggested the pictographs don't evidence much artistic ability, and may have been drawn by young people.

One advisor said two pictographs he could interpret were a sunburst, which may depict a supernova, and a fertility symbol (Figure 80).⁶³⁶ Other pictographs appeared representative of goats.

⁶³² Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 56-57.

⁶³³ Rex Talayumptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 43-45.

⁶³⁴ Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 58-59.

⁶³⁵ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 58-59.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 43-45.

⁶³⁶ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 58-59.

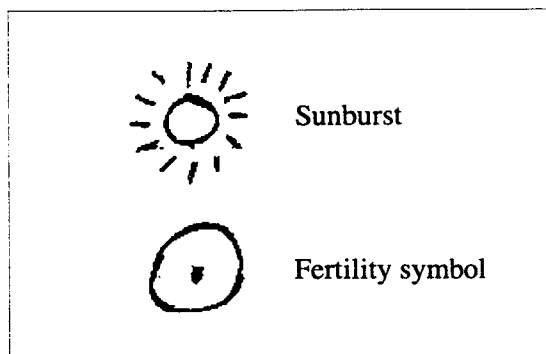


Figure 81. Two pictographs at AZ:A:16:1. Drawing by Leigh Jenkins, May 7, 1994.

Another cultural advisor identified a symbol related to Pueblo culture, interpreting it as a deity with horns (Figure 81).⁶³⁷ This figure was also interpreted as depicting an owl.

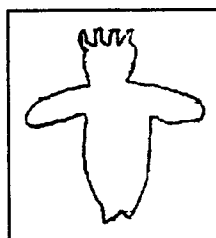


Figure 82. Puebloan-like deity with horns at AZ:A:16:1. Drawing by Micah Jenkins, May 22, 1995.

Other design elements interpreted by Hopi cultural advisors include a spider, female symbols, a Hopi maiden, water or snakes, and bighorn sheep (Figure 82).⁶³⁸

⁶³⁷ Micah Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 43-45.

⁶³⁸ Micah Jenkins and Max Taylor in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 43-45.

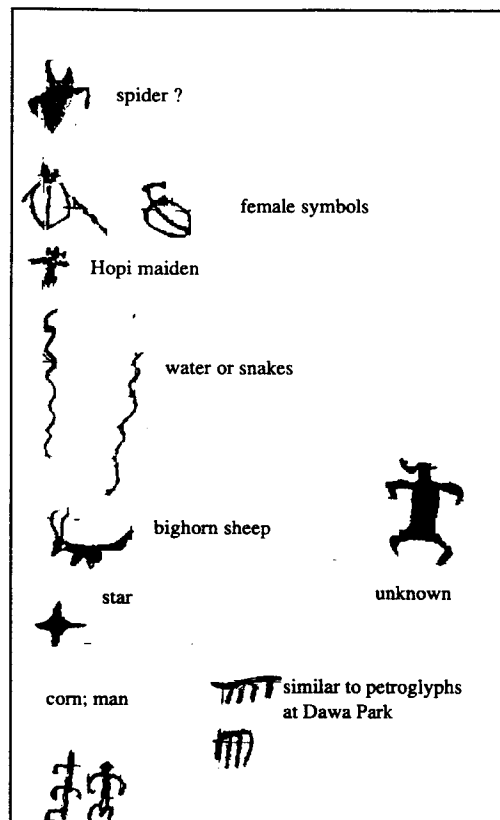


Figure 83. Elements in pictographs at AZ:A:16:1 interpreted by Hopis. Drawing by Micah Jenkins and Max Taylor, May 22, 1995.

Some pictographs seem to tell stories. For instance, in viewing one panel that shows two people holding hands, with an animal or another person in the background, one advisor said he thought this depicts an adult pulling a child out of danger away from an animal, maybe a wounded animal. He thought the people may have cornered a mountain goat or animal that was threatening the child.⁶³⁹

Hopi cultural advisors examined a large sign painted at AZ:A:16:1 about 1957 advertising "Wilson - Austin Surveyors" was a historically significant piece of graffiti from the dam building era. These advisors agreed with the Park Archaeologist that this graffiti is now a cultural resource and a significant part of the historic properties of the site.⁶⁴⁰

The National Park Service monitoring of archaeological sites in the Grand Canyon was discussed with Hopi cultural advisors at AZ:A:16:1. One advisor suggested that commercial river

⁶³⁹ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 58-59.

⁶⁴⁰ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 58-59.

running companies who use Grand Canyon should pay a fee for monitoring the archaeological sites since they use these archaeological sites to help make money.⁶⁴¹

SUTA (HEMATITE MINE)

Several *suta* (hematite) mines are located in caves within River Reach 10.⁶⁴² The Hopis who collected *suta* from this mine during field work in the Grand Canyon offered prayer offerings in reciprocation for taking the rich red pigment. The cultural advisors who collected *suta* said they would share this precious mineral with their kiva members, priests, and other religious leaders in their villages. *Suta* is used in many ritual activities at the Hopi villages.⁶⁴³

A National Park Service official mentioned that they did not consider the hematite mine to be a traditional cultural property of the Hopi Tribe since there are no historical records indicating the Hopi used this resource. Hopi cultural advisors pointed out that it is true that historically the Hopis obtained much of their *suta* in trade with the Havasupai and Hualapai but that they nonetheless thought the *Hisatsinom* used this hematite cave. These advisors think that the use of the hematite cave by their ancestors gives them the right to use this cave today, even if there has been a hiatus in historical use.⁶⁴⁴

A:15:5

There are several pictographs at archaeological site A:15:5, within River Reach 10. These pictographs painted with red hematite. One Hopi cultural advisor said that one of these pictographs was similar to a design still used on Hopi dance kilts. This design denotes Turkey feather offerings to the four directions being answered by a rain cloud (Figure 83).⁶⁴⁵

Another cultural advisor interpreted several other pictographs, including a butterfly and a woven carrying basket or fishing net (Figure 84).⁶⁴⁶

The cultural advisors reported that other pictographs in 202 Mile Canyon were interesting designs but hard to interpret using Hopi knowledge (Figure 85). Individual elements make sense but the panel as a whole is less immediately meaningful. Some of the Hopis thought the pictographs may mean nothing more than simply recording scenes of daily life.

⁶⁴¹ Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 43-45.

⁶⁴² The use of these caves in the 1870s is described by Dellenbaugh (1927).

⁶⁴³ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 60-61.

Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 46-47.

⁶⁴⁴ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1995 River Trip, pp. 46-47.

⁶⁴⁵ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 61-64.

⁶⁴⁶ Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 61-64.

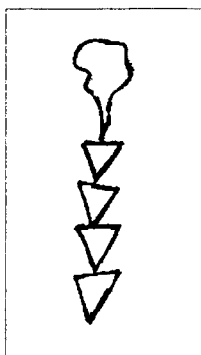


Figure 84. Pictograph at A:15:5. Drawing by Leigh Jenkins, May 9, 1994.

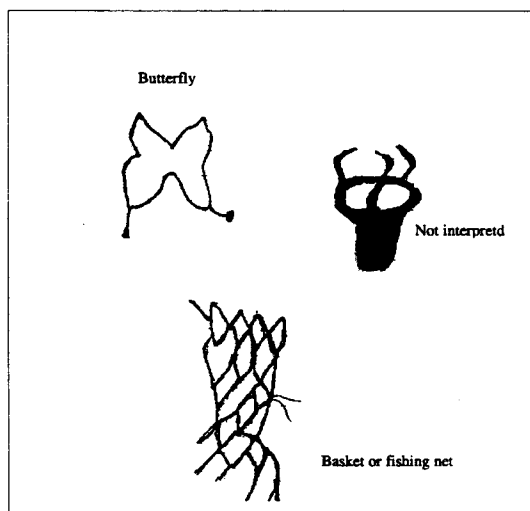


Figure 85. Pictographs at A:15:5. Drawing by Harlan Williams, May 9, 1994.

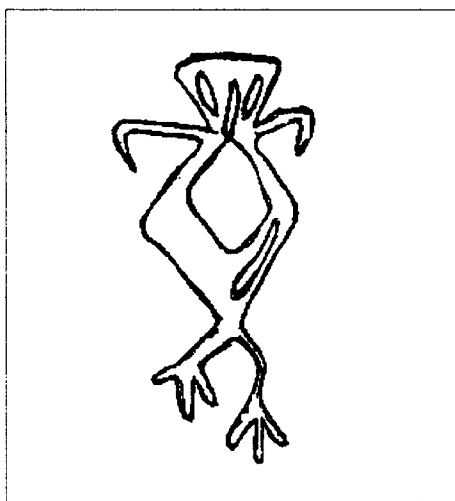


Figure 86. Pictograph at A:15:5. Drawing by Harlan Williams, May 9, 1994.

AZ:A:15:55

An archaeological site designated AZ:A:15:55 is located within River Reach 10. Hopi cultural advisors who inspected this location hiked up onto the top of the bench to the site, which consists of several cleared areas, circles of rock, Jeddito Corrugated, and Virgin Anasazi ceramics. The artifacts suggest an occupation that about AD 1300. The cleared areas have circular outlines of rocks surrounding them. Jeddito Corrugated, a prehistoric Hopi pottery type, dates to ca. AD 1300-1400. Obsidian was also observed on the site.

Hopi cultural advisors suggested that one of the small architectural features at the site may be a shrine or offering area since it is open to the east.⁶⁴⁷ A cleared area adjacent to this feature with rocks around its perimeter was interpreted as an area where the *Hisatsinom* sat to smoke and contemplate their activities (Figure 86). The cultural advisors noted this interpretation combines practical utility with a ritual or ceremonial function. They also suggested the cleared area may have been used for sleeping, and the site functioned as a camp site. It was suggested that a hunting society may have used this area as a camp. In sharing these interpretations with the Park Archaeologist, the Hopis made it clear they are interpreting these features based on an ethnographic analogy to contemporary Hopi society. They noted the actual use of the site may have been different.



Figure 87. Cleared area at AZ:A:15:55, possibly used for sitting. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, May 8, 1994.

⁶⁴⁷ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, pp. 64-65.

AZ:G:3:4

There are a number of archaeological sites within River Reach 10. Near AZ:G:3:4, one Hopi cultural advisor examined what appear to be two deadfall traps located in a rock overhang.⁶⁴⁸ One of these apparent traps consisted of two large, flat rocks. Between them was a small wooden stick about 3 cm long, with cotton string wound around one end (Figure 87). One cultural advisor said this arrangement looks like a deadfall trap but he can't make a definite identification since he has seen deadfall traps but no one ever taught him how to make them. He thought the coiling of the string doesn't make it look like a trap, although he noted the string may have been coiled for storing anticipating some future use. Under an adjacent flat rock was what appeared to be a small stockpiled bundle of kindling or tinder for starting a fire. In what appears to be a second dead fall trap there was another small wooden artifact that had been sharpened and polished. This wooden artifact had a dried substance of some sort stock on the end of the sharpened stick, which may be a piece of dried food like pemmican. Like the other artifact, this one was found between two flat rocks.

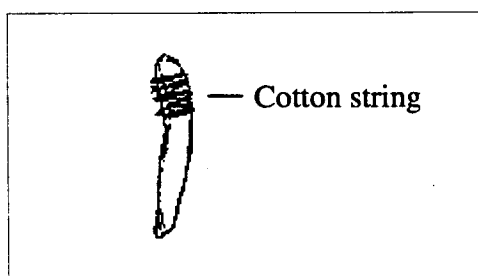


Figure 88. Artifact found in deadfall trap near AZ:G:3:4. Drawn by Bradley Balenquah, May 8, 1995.

AZ:G:3:20

Hopi cultural advisors inspected an archaeological site at Fall Canyon, within River Reach 10. There were two cooking pits at this site, which were being impacted by erosion. The Hopi cultural advisors recommended that this site be monitored on an annual basis.⁶⁴⁹

AZ:G:3:34

Hopi cultural advisors inspected an archaeological site designated AZ:G:3:34.⁶⁵⁰ There are seven cooking pits at this site. A grave may be located at this site. Several small pieces of bone and a small turquoise bead or pendent from an earring or necklace was found at this possible grave

⁶⁴⁸ Bradley Balenquah in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 66.

⁶⁴⁹ Leigh Jenkins and Orville Hongoeva in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 68.

⁶⁵⁰ Walter Hamana and Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 68.

(Figure 88). This pendant was buried where it was found. The archaeological deposits at AZ:G:3:34 are eroding due to deflation rather than arroyo activity. The condition of the site had changed since it was last monitored in 1991.

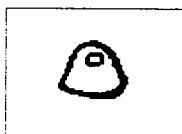


Figure 89. Small turquoise artifact observed at G:3:34. Drawing by Walter Hamana, May 9, 1994.

AZ:G:3:77

Pictographs were examined at AZ:G:3:77 within River Reach 11 (Figure 89). River guides think the pictographs here depict corn symbols. A Hopi cultural advisor, however, suggested these two figures represent *aqawasi* (sunflowers).⁶⁵¹ Another cultural advisor thought the pictograph immediately to the left of the two plants was either a Bear or Badger symbol. The other pictograph was not interpreted.

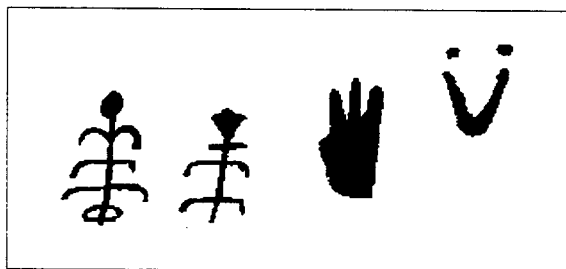


Figure 90. Pictographs at AZ:G:3:77. Drawing by T. J. Ferguson, May 8, 1994.

⁶⁵¹ Bradley Balenquah and Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 67.

CHAPTER 11

HOPÍ VIEWS ABOUT RECREATIONAL USE OF THE GRAND CANYON

RECREATIONAL USE OF THE GRAND CANYON BY HOPIS

In the past, many Hopi people resided at the Grand Canyon National Park while employed by the Fred Harvey Company as artisans, dancers, musicians, and service workers in the hotel industry. Today, many Hopis continue to work in the visitor industry at the Grand Canyon. Hopis employed at the Grand Canyon have had the opportunity to take recreational hikes in the Grand Canyon, and some have done so.⁶⁵² Most of these recreational hikes have been down the Bright Angel Trail. Several cultural advisors reported that they asked the elders in their village about the propriety of such hikes before undertaking them. In this regard, one advisor said,⁶⁵³

I used to work at Grand Canyon South Rim for several summers and ... I went down there twice. Before I went down there I talked with my Dad if it was alright for me to go down. And he said sure, you can go ahead, but make sure you don't bring anything out. You won't make it back up because everything down there belongs to the people, the holy people who are down there ... So we found a lot of important things ... different things, but we didn't touch them. We didn't bring anything up.

Not all the Hopi who worked at the Grand Canyon have taken recreational hikes into the canyon. As Eggan (1994:11) pointed out, only Hopis initiated into *Wuwtsim*, the Tribal Initiation, could journey into the Grand Canyon, since the trail was physically difficult and, moreover, was spiritually dangerous because the spirits of the dead live in this region. *Ma'saw*, the God of Death, resides in the cliffs. Consequently, many Hopis are reluctant to go down into the Grand Canyon to pursue recreational activities.

Many Hopis have gone to the Grand Canyon with their families for picnics, to see the National Park, or to collect pinyon nuts.⁶⁵⁴ While many of these Hopis have viewed the canyon from the

⁶⁵² Byron Tyma in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 9.

Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, p. 4.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 58.

Eljean Joshevama interview form, July 17, 1991, p. 6.

Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 48.

⁶⁵³ Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 28.

⁶⁵⁴ Lee Wayne Lomayestewa interview, July 7, 1993, pp. 6-8.

Lloyd Ami interview, June 2, 1993, p. 3.

Bert Puhuyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, April 18, 1991, p. 8.

Delfred Leslie interview, December 16, 1992, p. 9.

Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, p. 6.

vantage of the rim, many them report they are reluctant to casually hike to the bottom of the Grand Canyon. As one advisor said,⁶⁵⁵

... its not a site that I would go out of my way to visit. I know its there, its very meaningful to certain clans and certain people who that type of responsibility in fulfilling their religious requirements and its for them to use ... I won't be that type of person just to out of curiosity want to go down there ... I know that its there being protected and use is being made by people who have full knowledge of it ... Its not for everybody to witness, its something we have a great deal of respect for them and its up to them to do that ... Its only selected members of religious societies in the Hopi culture that have access to that and ... I think it should remain that way.

It is only in recent years that a few Hopis not employed in the Grand Canyon National Park have begun to go on recreation hikes using various trails.⁶⁵⁶ Many of these hikers have stayed far downstream from the sacred area around the Hopi Salt Mine. In this regard, one advisor noted that he avoided the area near the Salt Mine because it is "... that area we so highly respect we don't even come near to that." Even on a recreational hike, this advisor noted,⁶⁵⁷

We always carry our cornmeal so ... before we go all the way down we just rest up there and then pray, pray and sprinkle our cornmeal down, down that way to the Salt Mine, and also down to the canyon area. Because we used to say when we yell down there we can hear ourselves because the little War Gods are down there and they're talking back to you.

RECREATIONAL USE OF THE GRAND CANYON BY NON-HOPIS

The number of people traveling through the Grand Canyon on river trips has increased dramatically in recent years. Philip et al. (1986:3) estimated that only 284 people traveled through the Grand Canyon between the years 1869 and 1955. In contrast, 2,009 people journeyed through the canyon in 1967. Moreover, this number increased 700% in the next six years, and in 1972 and 1973 over 15,000 people traveled down river through the canyon. Today, the National Park Service continues to permit travel by 15,000 people per year. On river trips, camping and lunch spots are concentrated on approximately 100 beaches, with 75% of the camping occurring on 50 popular beaches. Not surprisingly, recreational camping in the Grand Canyon has impacts on the both the

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 3.

Vivian Poocha interview, August 1, 1991, p. 3.

Ruby Chimerica, December 22, 1993, p. 5.

⁶⁵⁵ Nat Nutongla interview, July 9, 1991, pp. 12-13.

⁶⁵⁶ Orville Hongoeva interview, July 7, 1993, pp. 4-5.

Robinson Letseoma and Tom Kahe interview, September 30, 1991, p. 9.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 30.

⁶⁵⁷ Milland Lomakema July 8, 1991, pp. 29-30.

aesthetics and plant communities associated with those beaches. Philips et al. (1986:3) summarized those impacts by stating,

Human impact on beaches and terraces above the present high water line is long-lasting and visible ... Dolan estimated that most foot traffic and trampling on beaches is concentrated within 90 m of the shore, with impact generally decreasing away from the main camping site. Impact is channeled by topography and vegetation and is highest where pathways cross or bypass these obstacles. Terraces above camping areas are seldom visited because of obstacles posed by western honey mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa* var. *torreyana*) and catclaw (*Acacia greggii*) trees and high temperatures away from the water during summer months. Other visitor-caused impacts to the beach and terrace zones include habitat modification by fire, littering of beaches with trash and charcoal, vegetation damage or removal, trails and pathways to attraction sites, and burial or depositing of kitchen and human wastes.

Many Hopi cultural advisors reported they are concerned about the recreational use of the Grand Canyon by non-Indians and the impact this use is having on natural and cultural resources important to the Hopi people. The Hopis are concerned about the physical desecration of shrines by tourists. Given their stewardship role, the Hopis are also concerned about protecting people from spiritual forces they don't understand.⁶⁵⁸

Some cultural advisors also talked about—"people erosion" or "people pollution" that results from too many visitors, especially those that remove things from the Grand Canyon.⁶⁵⁹ Visitation of Hopi sacred sites by the curious public increases knowledge about those places and this has detrimental affect on Hopi culture. Hopi cultural advisors think there needs to be better control of tourism in the Grand Canyon.

Recreational Hiking by non-Hopis

Hopis associate *Öngtupqa* and the *Sipapuni* with the awesome spiritual power of *Ma'saw* and the Hopi ancestors who reside there. These associations produce intense emotions that make the inner recesses of the Grand Canyon a spiritually dangerous place to visit casually.⁶⁶⁰ It is difficult for a Hopi to go into *Öngtupqa* without the proper mental and spiritual preparation, and they are concerned about non-Indians who do so.

Several popular hiking guides and books describe routes into or out of the Grand Canyon that traverse the Little Colorado River, passing by the *Sipapuni* (Aitchison 1968; 1985:93; Annerino 1986:228; Butchart 1970:39-40; Fletcher 1967:183-185).

Some popular hiking guides provide admonitions to respect the Hopi *Sipapuni*. For instance, Annerino (1986:228) states,

⁶⁵⁸ Cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, July 11, 1991, p. 13.

⁶⁵⁹ Robert Sakiestewa and Abbott Sekaquaptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, July 11, 1991, pp. 2-4.

⁶⁶⁰ Leigh Jenkins interview, August 26, 1992, pp. 7-9.

Please note: In deference to Hopi religious beliefs, the author agrees the area should not be visited - or photographed - by non-Hopi. If you must pass by the Sipapu en route to Salt Trail Canyon 6½ miles up from the Colorado River confluence, or coming down the Little Colorado River Gorge from Cameron, please exercise discretion in this area, as the Hopi know and revere it as the opening through which all mankind originally emerged.

Other hiking guides imply visitation of non-Indians at the *Sipapuni* is acceptable. Kelsey (1991:272), for instance, wrote, "This latter route is the way the Hopi people reach the canyon to gather salt and to visit ceremonial sites such as their Sipapu and old burial grounds. Hopi and Navajo alike told the author that no one would mind if whites visited the area, as long as they didn't disturb the sites."

Access to the trail head of the route down the Little Colorado River is controlled by the Navajo Nation, which has permitted non-Indians to use this trail to the consternation of Hopi cultural advisors. Hopi cultural advisors think the Salt Trail should not be used by non-Indians, including GCES researchers as well as recreational hikers.⁶⁶¹

The Tanner Trail, named after Seth Tanner, a Mormon settler from Tuba City who prospected in the eastern Grand Canyon (Aitchison 1985:93-95), is another popular trail. This trail descends 4,700 vertical feet from the rim to the river. Nine miles from the rim to Tanner Rapid, another four miles from Tanner Rapid to Palisades Creek, and five miles from Palisades Creek to the Little Colorado River. The Tanner Trail between the Little Colorado River and Palisades is an ancient old Indian route that was "upgraded" by Ben Beamer, the prospector who built a cabin near the mouth of the Little Colorado River (Aitchison 1985:93). The eastern portion of the Tanner or Beamer Trail follows the Hopi Salt Trail between the Hopi Salt Mine and the Little Colorado River, and this is of concern to Hopi cultural advisors.

Joshevama is concerned about recreational hikers using the Salt Trail Canyon. He says, "Any sacred location, especially within our immediate proximity ... creates sensitivity among us and we sense violation of our beliefs and faith. Its as if our entire life must be scrutinized without sensitivity by others."⁶⁶²

⁶⁶¹ Martin Talayumptewa, Austin Nuveyahtewa, Owen Numkena, and Harlan Williams in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, March 14, 1991, p. 7.

Interview with First Mesa Elders, November 13, 1991, p. 1.

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, p. 11.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, pp. 19-21.

Anna Silas interview, June 27, 1991, p. 2.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 31.

⁶⁶² Interview form completed by Eljean Joshevama on July 17, 1991. Ms. on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmobi, Arizona, p. 3.

Recreational Rafting Down the Colorado River

Hopi cultural advisors have mixed views about recreational rafting down the Colorado River. Some advisors recognize that this can be a rejuvenating and educational recreational experience for the participants.⁶⁶³ At the same time, these and other advisors are concerned about the impacts of river running on Hopi cultural resources.⁶⁶⁴ One cultural advisor said that rafting,⁶⁶⁵

... is not right but whiteman has interest to study and exploit things regardless of how much we disapprove, they continue to do as they please. If they desire to recreate they should not bother sites important to us but just continue their journey without stopping in sacred areas of the Hopi people. But they don't respect these places we may have to put these places off limits to everybody except a few Hopis.

Hopi cultural advisors are concerned about the hiking people do during stops on raft trips. Cultural advisors addressing this problem said,⁶⁶⁶

Non-Hopis should not be allowed to go into the canyon, especially the sacred places in the canyon areas. We see only destruction with visits ... There are lots of sacred sites along the trail which can be disturbed and destroyed by curious hikers and other guided tours that I understand have been taking place.

Other cultural advisors said that they think hiking on river trips is acceptable only if people stay on the trails and don't go to sacred sites or take artifacts. Many Hopi cultural advisors recommend that raft trips that stop at the Little Colorado River should not allow their passengers to hike upstream to the *Sipapuni*, and that the restriction against non-Indians visiting the Hopi Salt Mine should remain in effect.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶³ Leslie David in Interview with First Mesa Elders, November 13, 1991, p. 3.

Notes of T. J. Ferguson from Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991, p. 6.

Nat Nutongla interview, July 9, 1991, pp. 31-32.

⁶⁶⁴ Douglas Coochwyetewa, Will Mase, Nelson Honyatkewa, and Wayne Susunkewa interview, June 25, 1991, p. 2.

Ronald Humeyestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 8.

⁶⁶⁵ Simon Polingyumtewa interview, July 30, 1991, p. 16.

⁶⁶⁶ LaVern Siweupmptewa and Frank Mofsie interview, July 9, 1991, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁶⁷ Valjean Joshevama interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 3, 7.

Eljean Joshevama interview form, July 17, 1991, p. 7.

Eldrige Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvoyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 1.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, pp. 54-55.

Wilton Kooyahoema interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 15-16.

Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, pp. 13, 22.

Delfred Leslie interview, December 16, 1992, p. 12.

Several cultural advisors expressed concern about the impact of raft trips that stop to visit archaeological sites.⁶⁶⁸ One advisor said, "Like tourists, they'll take whatever they find and that's a source of human erosion [of] something precious to us."⁶⁶⁹ This advisor thought that raft trips should pass by *Hisatsinom* archaeological sites without stopping.

Hopi cultural advisors also expressed concern about the impact of rafting trips on the natural habitat.⁶⁷⁰ As one advisor said, "When they start having people coming in its no longer a wild area."⁶⁷¹ This advisor has seen the impact of human use on the Hopi eagle collection areas surrounding the Hopi Indian Reservation, that is, the nests are still there but the eagles have left the area. He thinks that too many people in the Grand Canyon will lead to a similar situation where some animals and birds leave.

Finally, some advisors are concerned about beer drinking and other party behavior on raft trips that is incompatible with the religious values the Hopi people have for sanctity of the Grand Canyon.⁶⁷²

Many cultural advisors are resigned to the fact that recreational rafting will continue, and recommend that there be more orientation and education on these trips to teach tourists what is appropriate behavior regarding Hopi traditional cultural properties.⁶⁷³ One advisor suggested, "We

Milland Lomakema interview, July 8, 1991, p. 37.

Lee Wayne Lomayestewa interview, July 7, 1993, pp. 30-32.

Vernon Masayesva interview, August 28, 1991, pp. 5-6

Owen Numkena interview, July 3, 1994, p. 2.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 76.

Harold Polingyumptewa interview, September 30, 1991, p. 7.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 28, 49.

Martin Talayumptewa interview, January 16, 1992, p. 7.

Esther Talayumptewa and Karen Shupla interview, August 1, 1991, p. 1.

⁶⁶⁸ Robert Sakiestewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1994 River Trip, p. 4.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 37.

Alton Honahni interview, July 21, 1991, p. 59.

Rex Talayumptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Spring 1994 River Trip, p. 8.

⁶⁶⁹ Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 48.

⁶⁷⁰ Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, p. 14.

⁶⁷¹ Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, August 1, 1991, pp. 5-6.

⁶⁷² Wilton Kooyahoema and other cultural advisors in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, December 14, 1994, p. 4.

⁶⁷³ Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, pp. 15, 36.

need to go talk with them before the season starts each year and pass on to the people who conduct tours through there and then tell them ... certain areas are really ... off limits to those people who come through here."⁶⁷⁴

Fishing

Several Hopis report they have fished at Lees Ferry.⁶⁷⁵ One of these advisors said he was stuck on a sand bar for half a day in 1990 when the water level in the river dropped suddenly.⁶⁷⁶ Another advisor reported, "... I was fishing down at Lee's Ferry one time and all of a sudden the water went up so high—get close to where I was fishing from. This ruins everything, you know, the water was just going too fast."⁶⁷⁷

By and large, recreational fishing in the Colorado River does not pose a cultural problem for the Hopi. As long as fishermen respect the river and the place, Hopi cultural advisors do not object to this activity.⁶⁷⁸

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 11-12, 47-48.

⁶⁷⁴ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, pp. 75-76.

⁶⁷⁵ Arnold Taylor interview, November 13, 1991, p. 38.

Merwin Kooyahoema interview, July 15, 1991, p. 56.

⁶⁷⁶ Leslie David in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 5.

⁶⁷⁷ Alton Honanhi interview, July 21, 1991, pp. 50-51.

⁶⁷⁸ Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 77.

Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, p. 37.

Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 48.

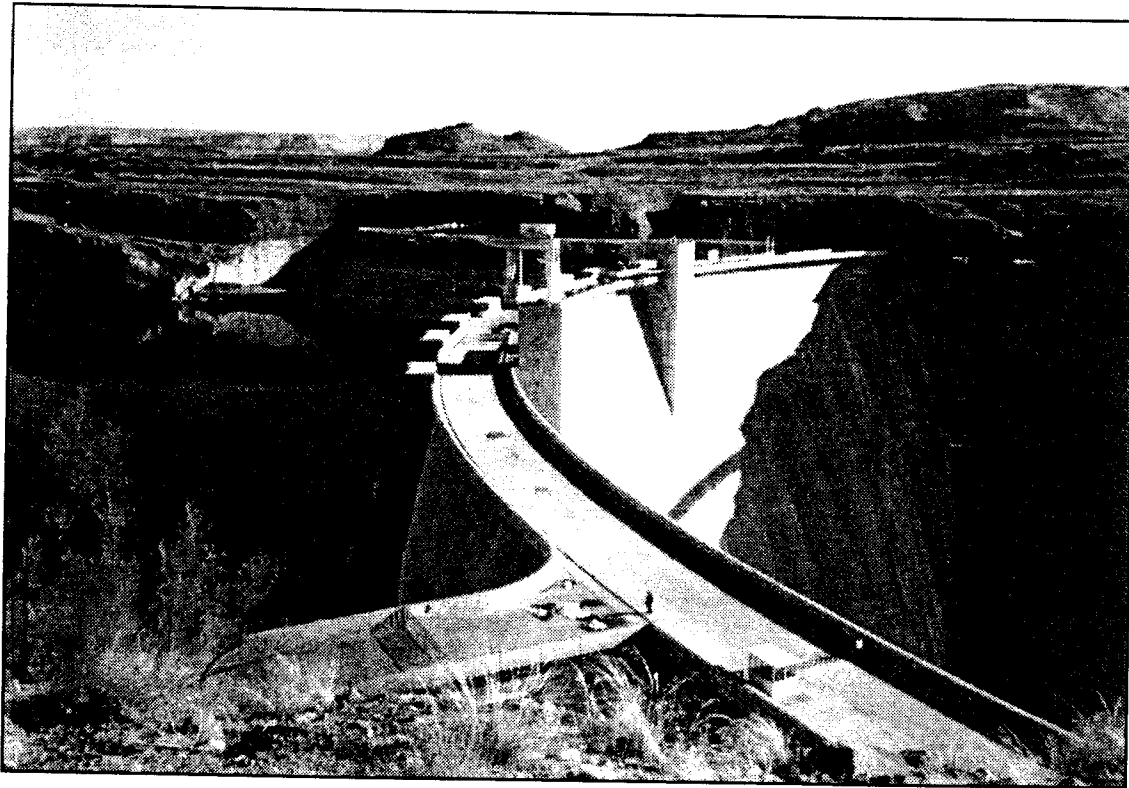


Figure 91. Glen Canyon Dam. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson , June 10, 1992.

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSIONS AND HOPI RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MANAGEMENT OF THE GLEN CANYON DAM AND THE GRAND CANYON

CONCLUSIONS

Forty conclusions are drawn based on the historical information presented in this report.

1. The Hopi names for the Grand Canyon, Colorado River, and Little Colorado River are *Öngtupqa*, *Pisisvayu*, and *Paayu*.
2. The 11 Hopi deities recorded with associations to *Öngtupqa* make the Grand Canyon an important place in the Hopi religion.
3. *Ma'saw* is one of the deities associated with *Öngtupqa*. The Hopi entered into a religious covenant with *Ma'saw*, the Caretaker of this present life, wherein the Hopi earned the right to become stewards of the earth by fulfilling ritual obligations, including placing their "footprints" on the landscape as they migrated to *Tuuwanasavi* (the earth center) on the Hopi Mesas.
4. The *Sipapuni* associated with the Hopi emergence is located along the Little Colorado River near its confluence with the Colorado River.
5. Hopi ancestors reside in *Öngtupqa* after death. This imbues the Grand Canyon with a powerful spirituality in Hopi religion. Prayers are offered as homage to the ancestors in *Öngtupqa* to bring life-giving rain to the Hopi Mesas.
6. The Hopi Salt Mine on the Colorado River is the destination of a religious pilgrimage that culminates the *Wuwtsim*, a Tribal Initiation that provides the esoteric knowledge needed to become an adult male in Hopi society.
7. The Hopi undertake religious pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* to obtain ceremonial pigments, herbs, and other natural resources used in Hopi rituals.
8. *Öngtupqa*, *Pisisvayu*, and *Paayu* are honored in prayer offerings made during ceremonies conducted at the Hopi Mesas during *Soyalung*.
9. Three shrines located in the Grand Canyon and along its southern rim are used in a *homvi'kya* (pilgrimage) undertaken to pay homage to *Hopitutskwa* (Hopi lands).
10. Many Hopi clans traveled along *Pisisvayu* or through *Öngtupqa* in their migrations to the earth center on the Hopi Mesas, including the *Tsungyam* (Rattlesnake Clan), *Kyarngyam* (Parrot Clan), *Kuukutsngyam* (Lizard Clan), *Kokyangngyam* (Spider Clan), *Leengyam* (Flute Clan), *Aalngyam* (Deer Clan), *Kookopngyam* (Fire Clan), *Piqösngyam* (Bearstrap Clan), *Povolngyam* (Butterfly Clan), *Awatngyam* (Bow Clan), *Tepngyam* (Greasewood Clan), *Paaqapngyam* (Reed Clan), *Poosiwnngyam* (Roadrunner Clan), *Tuuwangyam* (Sand Clan), *Patkingyam* (Water Clan), *Honngyam* (Bear Clan), *Pipngyam* (Tobacco Clan), *Tsöpngyam* (Antelope Clan), *Honanngyam*

(Badger Clan), *Katsinngyam* (Katsina Clan), *Tuuwangyam* (Sand Clan), and *Taawangyam* (Sun Clan). Additional clans migrated to Hopi along *Paayu*.

11. Many traditional Hopi narratives are set in the Grand Canyon, including the account of *Tiyo*, the first person to travel down the Colorado River through the Grand Canyon on a raft. *Tiyo* brought the Snake Dance to Hopi.
12. Hopi guides led Cárdenas and a party of Spaniards to the Grand Canyon in 1540. These were the first Europeans to see the Grand Canyon.
13. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Spanish and American explorers who traveled in the Grand Canyon region followed Indian trails that led from the Colorado River to the Hopi village of Oraibi.
14. During the first descent down the Colorado River by boat in 1869-1871, John Wesley Powell described 8 archaeological sites as ancestral to Hopi. Powell visited the Hopi Mesas in 1870.
15. *Tutuveni*, the site where Hopis place their clan marks during pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon, was first described by Karl Gilbert in 1878.
16. The Hopis collect salt from the Hopi Salt Mine on the Colorado River for ritual and domestic use.
17. Hopi villages from First Mesa, Second Mesa, and Third Mesa have all sponsored religious pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa*. In the twentieth century, the Hopi made pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* in 1911, 1936-1938, 1941, 1957, and 1959. In addition to these, there were also a number of undocumented pilgrimages undertaken in the twentieth century.
18. Although *Wuwtsim* pilgrimages are no longer conducted by Third Mesa villages, Hopis from Shungopavi still conduct religious pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa* for spiritual reasons not directly related to *Wuwtsim*.
19. The route of the Salt Trail followed during pilgrimages from Oraibi to *Öngtupqa* is a sacred trail. There are 37 places along this trail with Hopi names, many of which are shrines where ritual offerings are made.
20. *Tutuveni*, one of the Hopi places on the ceremonial trail to *Öngtupqa*, has at least 2,178 petroglyphs representing 45 Hopi clans that have made pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon.
21. The Hopi trail network in the Grand Canyon region incorporates several alternate routes to *Öngtupqa*, *Pisivayu*, and the Havasupai village that were historically used for trading, resource procurement, and ceremonial purposes. All the routes in this trail network are associated with shrines and trail markers that have ritual and cultural importance.
22. Historically, the Hopi participated in network of trade and social interaction that encompassed all of the Indian tribes in the Grand Canyon region, including the Havasupai, Hualapai, Ute, Paiute, Navajo, and Zuni tribes.
23. The water and springs in the Grand Canyon are important in the Hopi religion. Water from the Grand Canyon is used for ritual purposes.

24. The Hopi use seven minerals from the Grand Canyon in ritual activities, including *öönga* (salt), *pavisa* (yellow pigment), *suta* (red hematite), *saqwa* (blue-green pigment), *yalaha* (specular hematite), *ru'pi* (crystal), and *tuuwa* (sand). Many of these minerals are collected during religious pilgrimages to *Öngtupqa*.
25. Hopi cultural advisors identified 77 plants with Hopi names during field work in the Grand Canyon. All of these plants need protection.
26. Hopi cultural advisors identified 54 animals with Hopi names during field work in the Grand Canyon. All of these animals need protection.
27. Eagles play a special role in the Hopi religion, so these birds need to be protected in the Grand Canyon.
28. The Hopi are concerned about all endangered species in the Grand Canyon. Every life form has a right to exist and when species become extinct the Hopi people feel a personal loss.
29. The *Patkingyam* (Water Clan) has a special concern for all creatures associated with water, so the endangered status of the humpback chub is a concern for the *Patkingyam*.
30. In general, Hopi cultural advisors support the reintroduction of the California condor into the Grand Canyon as long as this will not adversely impact the eagle population.
31. Many Hopi cultural advisors think that natural soil erosion should be allowed to run its course without human intervention. Erosion caused by human land use, however, should be controlled. Cultural advisors who conducted field work in the Grand Canyon concluded that most of the erosion they saw stems from the operation of the Glen Canyon Dam, and think this erosion is a problem that needs treatment.
32. The Hopi Tribe claims cultural affinity to 235 ancestral archaeological sites in the corridor of the Colorado River surveyed for the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies.
33. The ancestors of the Hopi are called the *Hisatsinom*. *Hisatsinom* sites in the Grand Canyon have cultural and historical significance that qualifies them as Hopi traditional cultural properties. *Hisatsinom* sites are monuments to Hopi history in the Grand Canyon, and the Hopi people view them as the "footprints" that evidence their fulfillment of their covenant with *Ma'saw*.
34. Many *Hisatsinom* sites contain the graves of ancestors which need to be protected from disturbance caused by the operation of Glen Canyon Dam. Human remains and grave goods exposed by erosion or impacted in other ways by the Glen Canyon Dam need to be reburied in proximity to their original site in the Grand Canyon.
35. The Hopi Tribe wants to participate in archaeological research conducted at *Hisatsinom* archaeological sites in the Grand Canyon.
36. In addition to archaeological sites, the Hopi Tribe has many other traditional cultural properties located along the Colorado River or in the immediate vicinity of Grand Canyon. These include (but are not limited to) the Rainbow Bridge, *Neneqpi Wunasivu* (Lees Ferry), *Yam'taqa* (Vasey's Paradise), *Pongyatuyqa* (Shinamu Altar), *Homvi'kya* (pilgrimage trail), *Tatatsiwqtömuy Kiiam*, *Hawi'önga*, *Sipapuni*, the Hopi Salt Trail, *Öönga* (the Hopi Salt Mine), and *Suta* (Hematite Mine).

37. Out of respect for the sacredness of *Öngtupqa*, the Grand Canyon is not a place most Hopi people will casually visit. Spiritual preparations and offerings are needed when Hopis visit areas where shrines are located in the Grand Canyon.
38. The Hopi Tribe is concerned about the impacts of recreational use of the Grand Canyon on Hopi ancestral sites and shrines.
39. *Öngtupqa* is associated with ritual knowledge and anything that damages the Grand Canyon will cause hardship to Hopi life and culture, and damage the universe.
40. The Grand Canyon has continuing ritual significance to the Hopi people and is integral in sustaining Hopi culture and religion.

HOPi RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE OPERATION OF THE GLEN CANYON DAM AND MANAGEMENT OF THE GRAND CANYON

The following recommendations offered by Hopi cultural advisors supplement the formal recommendations made by the Hopi Tribe in its role as a cooperating agency of the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies. The Hopi cultural advisors interviewed during the project think the Glen Canyon Dam and the Grand Canyon both need to be carefully managed to protect natural and cultural resources.

Operation of Glen Canyon Dam

Hopi cultural advisors recognize that the Glen Canyon Dam helps people by providing water management and electricity. Nonetheless, they think that the past operation of the dam has hurt the Grand Canyon, and that something needs to be done to protect cultural and natural resources downstream of the Glen Canyon Dam.⁶⁷⁹ These cultural advisors think that the ecology of the Grand Canyon as it relates to the operation of the dam is tied to the continuance of Hopi culture and religion. Any damage to the geology, vegetation, and cultural resources of the Grand Canyon hurts the Hopi people and their children because it makes the practice of the Hopi religion and culture more difficult. In this regard, one cultural advisor said that any change or disruption of the Grand Canyon environment is "cultural destruction."⁶⁸⁰

⁶⁷⁹ Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, August 1, 1991, p. 5.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 47-48.

Harlan Williams interview, December 22, 1993, p. 23.

Lee Wayne Lomayestewa interview, July 7, 1993, p. 18.

Delfred Leslie interview, December 16, 1992, pp. 6-7.

Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 24-25.

⁶⁸⁰ Eugene Sekaquaptewa in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from CRATT Meeting, June 13, 1991, p. 3.

A Hopi cultural advisor from Moenkopi observed that, "If you're hurting the earth in any way, you are hurting yourself."⁶⁸¹ This advisor suggested that the Glen Canyon Dam should be operated using Hopi values for protecting life.

In explaining Hopi values, another cultural advisor stated that,⁶⁸²

... any mode of operation that tends to threaten either the vegetation or the wild life ... goes contrary ... to the way we see the world and the way we perceive our responsibility to care for that world. Because since the beginning of time ... the Hopi people were given the priesthood authority for stewardship over mother earth to maintain it and preserve it for the well being of mankind. That includes all of these duties and responsibilities that the Hopi believe they have and through these prayers and the offerings that they make for the well being of wild life and the things that grow from the earth they are trying to live up to the responsibility. That is part of the stewardship of the earth mother for the well being of mankind ... the welfare of all mankind.

This advisor added that a long-range perspective is needed in decisions on how to operate the Glen Canyon Dam,⁶⁸³

... you have to look down the road, you know, what's it going to be 150 years from now. Which means if a 150 years from now the damage to the environment and to the ecology is going to have some really drastic consequences for all of us, then we have to make decisions based on that future consideration and be willing to make the necessary sacrifices in order to be in a safe position in that time, 150 years from now ... That means that somebody is going to have to be willing to not make as much profit today. He may ... have to be satisfied ... with less creature comforts today, in order to have survival 150 years from now.

Many Hopi cultural advisors recommended that the operation of the dam to produce electricity for sale needs to be balanced with protection of the environment and ecology of the Grand Canyon. Unless this is done, these advisors fear that irreplaceable resources will be lost forever. These Hopis say that money should not be the only criteria used to make decisions on how to operate the dam.⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸¹ Gilbert Naseyouma in Orville Hongeva and Gilbert Naseyouma interview, August 28, 1992, p. 4.

⁶⁸² Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, August 1, 1991, p. 7.

⁶⁸³ Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, August 1, 1991, p. 8.

⁶⁸⁴ Lee Pawytewa, Austin Nuvayaktewa, Alonzo Quavema, and Cedric Kewaninevya, July 15, 1991, p. 2.

Dalton Taylor interview, July 7, 1993, p. 2.

Nat Nutongla interview, July 9, 1991, pp. 29, 34.

Notes of T. J. Ferguson from interview of LaVern Siweupmptewa and Frank Mofsie, July 9, 1991, p. 7.

Vernon Masayesva interview, August 28, 1991, p. 2.

The operation of Glen Canyon Dam is a complicated subject and some cultural advisors admit that they don't fully understand all the technical aspects of dam operation.⁶⁸⁵ Nonetheless, these advisors think the dam should be controlled to protect the beaches and prevent them from washing away. The proper operation of Glen Canyon Dam should be self-evident in the conservation of natural and cultural resources in the Grand Canyon, even if the technical aspects of dam operation are not entirely understood by laymen.

Hopis understand that if water is not controlled it will erode anything in its path. They think damming a river is dangerous unless the release of water from a dam is carefully regulated.⁶⁸⁶

One concern of many advisors is the occurrence of floods that devastate the riparian habitat.⁶⁸⁷ These advisors think that floods are dangerous for animals, as well as damaging to ancestral archaeological sites. Some advisors make a distinction between the natural floods that have occurred in the past and the recent floods related to dam operation. Some advisors think that high flows are now needed occasionally to replenish sediments but recommend these flows be regulated so they are not uncontrolled floods.⁶⁸⁸

In general, Hopi cultural advisors recommend that the Glen Canyon Dam be operated to (1) protect beaches, (2) protect ancestral sites and religious shrines from damage due to water releases from the dam, (3) protect cattails, willows, and other riparian growth, and (4) protect all wildlife. The dam should be operated under the principle that all living things have a right to exist.⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁵ Harold Koruh interview, June 20, 1991, pp. 22-23.

⁶⁸⁶ Jerry Honawa interview, August 28, 1992, pp. 6-7.

⁶⁸⁷ Nat Nutongla interview, July 9, 1991, p. 36.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, p. 41.

Dalton Taylor interview, November 13, 1991, p. 4.

Valjean Joshevama July 2, 1991, p. 8.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 81.

Notes of T. J. Ferguson from Patrick Lomawaima interview, August 29, 1991, p. 6.

Abbott Sekaquaptewa interview, August 1, 1991, pp. 10-11.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 51, 55.

Anna Silas interview, June 27, 1991, p. 4.

Vivian Poocha interview, August 1, 1991, p. 4.

⁶⁸⁸ Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 51-52.

⁶⁸⁹ Walter Hamana interview, June 20, 1991, pp. 23, 26, 38-39.

Notes of T. J. Ferguson from interview of Patrick Lomawaima, August 29, 1991, p. 6.

Arnold Taylor interview, June 19, 1991, pp. 42-44.

Robert Sakiestewa interview, July 2, 1991, pp. 21, 36,

According to Vernon Masayesva, the Chairman of the Hopi Tribe in 1991, the concept of sustainable development should be applied to the management of the Grand Canyon. Masayesva said,⁶⁹⁰

... the goal of the Hopi nation is what is called sustainable economic development and growth, which means that there is a way to plan your economic programs without destroying the natural resources. I think this same thinking of sustainability can be applied to the way we deal with a sacred area such as the Grand Canyon. It has a tremendous religious as well as historic significance to the Hopis and I think to all the Americans who go there.

With specific reference to the Glen Canyon Dam, Masayesva added,⁶⁹¹

I think the objective would be to return the waters to its natural flow condition. With the technology and scheduling of water releases I think that's achievable. But what we're opposed to is the way they release the water ... where during certain seasons when there's a tremendous demand for power ... a lot of water ... is released to generate more power. This has an effect of eroding the canyon and impacting it in very significant ways. Just like our flash floods out here. When you suddenly have a torrential rain fall or you know you see ... flash floods and you see the destruction it can cause. And to me that's what's happening with the existing practice.

In testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Water and Power of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, the Director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office summarized the position of the Hopi Tribe, stating that (Leigh Jenkins 1991b:3),

Operations of the Glen Canyon Dam must reflect the United States government's commitment to the preservation of the country's natural resources and cultural heritage. It is the responsibility of the Bureau of Reclamation, as an agency of the Federal Government, to operate the Glen Canyon Dam in a balanced manner with regard to environmental and economic concerns.

Adaptive Management

Steven W. Carothers, the Hopi Tribe's Environmental Impact Statement writer for the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies, pointed out that a number of research questions about endangered species of fish and other issues still need research before "... we really understand how to operate Glen Canyon Dam. Such is the immediate responsibility of the Adaptive Management Program process" (Carothers 1995:4). The Hopi Tribe supports the concept of adaptive management and wants to be a full participant in this process.

Herchal Talashoma interview, January 21, 1992, p. 9.

Eldridge Koinva and Kenneth Kewanvyouma interview, July 10, 1991, p. 2.

⁶⁹⁰ Vernon Masayesva interview, August 28, 1991, p. 3.

⁶⁹¹ Vernon Masayesva interview, August 28, 1991, pp. 1-2

One of the keys to successful adaptive management is long-term monitoring. The Director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office noted that the Hopi Tribe wants to be involved with long-term monitoring of natural and cultural resources in the Grand Canyon.⁶⁹² From the Hopi perspective, this monitoring program should include continued investigation of ancestral archaeological sites; continued monitoring of erosion and sedimentation at ancestral sites; and periodic review of monitoring data in relation to goals and objectives. This monitoring entails more work than simply participating in river trips. In order for the Hopi Tribe to meaningfully participate in long-term monitoring, it must have continued access to the financial resources needed to engage in scientific dialog about management issues.

Hopi cultural advisors think it is important to train Hopi tribal members in the technical skills needed to implement adaptive management, and then employ them in this endeavor.⁶⁹³ The Hopis working on adaptive management need to regularly consult with the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team. As the Chairman of the Hopi Tribe pointed out, input in management and monitoring from Hopi Cultural Advisory Task Team makes it easier for elected tribal officials to support the decisions that are made.⁶⁹⁴

The Hopi Tribe wants more than just an advisory role in the operation of the dam. As the Director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office said, the Hopi Tribe wants to "be a partner with the Park Service, with the Bureau Reclamation, so that we can work on some of these issues in an objective fashion ..."⁶⁹⁵

Morehouse (1993:8-269) reviewed the history of management of the Grand Canyon, documenting how until recently the Hopi Tribe remained "... invisible and voiceless in the proceedings and negotiations over the size, configuration, and function" of the Grand Canyon National Park (Morehouse 1993:193). Morehouse concluded that the current relations between the Hopi Tribe and the NPS are cordial, and that important Hopi cultural sites are being managed in the spirit of "joint stewardship," with no objections being voiced by either party. Morehouse (1993:321-322) predicted this amicable arrangement will continue as long as the National Park Service protects tribal shrines and allows tribal members free access to the park for religious and other traditional purposes. Morehouse described how the Hopi Tribe and the National Park Service have recently developed a cooperative agreement to formalize planning and cultural interpretation of the park. She noted, however, that interviews with Hopi tribal officials indicated that the Hopi Tribe would like to achieve full partnership with the park, and be involved in the administration, implementation, and enforcement of policy. The Hopi Tribe wants written policies detailing its tribal rights.

⁶⁹² Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from Hopi-Zuni Meeting, April 8, 1994, p. 17.

⁶⁹³ Ronald Humeyestewa interview, June 3, 1994, p. 6.

Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 7.

Walter Hamana interview, July 16, 1993, p. 20.

Lee Wayne Lomayestewa interview, July 7, 1993, p. 49.

⁶⁹⁴ Ferrell Secakuku, Oral Report to CRATT, August 25, 1994, p. 4.

⁶⁹⁵ Leigh Jenkins interview, June 19, 1991, p. 53.

A Programmatic Agreement between the National Park Service, the Bureau of Reclamation, and interested Indian Tribes provides a unifying tool for the management of cultural resources in the Grand Canyon (Balsom 1995:4). As this Programmatic Agreement is implemented, the Hopi tribal officials think the National Park Service should have an administrative prerogative for rapid management. There needs to be on-going consultation with tribes but not in a way that prevents the timely execution of good management practices, especially as they relate to crisis situations caused by unanticipated erosion or vandalism. Indian Tribes need to work together with the National Park Service and Bureau of Reclamation to effect good management of the cultural and natural resources of the Grand Canyon.⁶⁹⁶

Kurt Dongoske, the Hopi Tribal Archaeologist, reflected on the participation of Indian Tribes in the preparation of the Environmental Impact Statement for the operation of Glen Canyon Dam. His remarks reflect the role the Hopi Tribe wants to have in future management of the Grand Canyon. Dongoske (1994:28) said,

One of the most important precedent-setting outcomes of this process is the involvement of the Native American community. The Native American Tribes have been the main vocal and driving force behind the direction that this EIS has taken. A new era is emerging in the management of federal lands in which Tribes will be active and vocal participants in the decision making process regarding the management of traditional resources.

Ferrell Secakuku, the Chairman of the Hopi Tribe, summarized the Hopi position on adaptive management by stating,⁶⁹⁷

... we need to monitor the best way we can in order to protect and in order to have an idea as to how the damage ... should be controlled or how its being ... developed throughout the years in the future. So we'll know what to do. I'm in agreement with the way the scientific methodology has been developed, because that is the only way that we can do it.

THE NEED FOR HOPI INVOLVEMENT IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE GRAND CANYON

Hopi cultural advisors think it is important for Hopis to be involved in the management of the Grand Canyon because of the canyon's cultural and historical importance to the Hopi people (Jenkins 1991).⁶⁹⁸ The Grand Canyon is the final resting place for the Hopi people, and this makes the proper management of the canyon imperative. From a Hopi perspective, the Grand Canyon can only be properly managed by adherence to the principles of stewardship that the Hopis learned from *Ma'saw*.

⁶⁹⁶ Leigh Jenkins in T. J. Ferguson, Notes from Hopi-Zuni Meeting, April 8, 1994, p. 8.

⁶⁹⁷ Ferrell Secakuku, Oral Report to CRATT, August 25, 1994, p. 4.

⁶⁹⁸ Walter Hamana in T. J. Ferguson, Field Notes, Fall 1991 River Trip, p. 9.

Eric Polingyouma interview, June 18, 1991, p. 44.

In 1953, Andrew Hermequaftewa explained the relationship between Hopi land and the Hopi religion. In his words (Hermequaftewa 1953:5), "The Hopi land is the Hopi religion. The Hopi religion is bound up in the Hopi land ... The Hopi lives and protects his land by worshipping, by praying, by fasting, according to the plans and instructions of Maasau."

The Hopi regard the earth as a relative and this affects how they approach the management of natural resources. As Loftin (1991:9) observed, "... the Hopi perceive the earth as their mother, the one from whom they were born and receive their sustenance, and to whom they will return after death". He added that "Hopis were taught by Maasaw how to revere the earth as a relative, and such reverence is necessary to reactualize the time of the emergence" (Loftin 1991:9-10). *Ma'saw* gave the Hopis "conditional stewardship" of the land. This results in a world view in which, "The Hopi do not consciously conserve natural resources; they perceive no nature apart from themselves. The earth is their origin, nature, and destiny, and they do not perceive themselves apart from the world in which they live" (Loftin 1991:12). The Hopi desire to protect the earth does not stem from an abstract notion of ecological conservation but from a sincere commitment to protect a living relative.

The Hopi are obligated to act as stewards and see that the Grand Canyon is treated with the respect it deserves. With regard to land management, Ferrell Secakuku (1993:9) wrote, "All land should be respected ... Our religion does not teach us to subdue the earth. Our religion teaches us to take care of the earth in a spiritual way as stewards of the land." In describing Hopi ties to the land, Secakuku explained that, "The land is so sacred because we emerged from it ... But when we came here we arrived at a place where somebody already had jurisdiction — it wasn't ours. It belonged to Masau-u, the Keeper of the Earth" (Schill 1993:1).

The Hopis think the concept of stewardship has direct relevance to the management of the Grand Canyon. As summarized by Jenkins and Ferguson (1994:3),

The Hopis still maintain their sacred pact with *Ma'saw* to serve as stewards of this land. The Hopis are therefore concerned about the continuing existence of endangered species, the protection of their ancestor's graves, and many other aspects of land management. The Hopis think a long-term perspective is needed in environmental monitoring, and, since the Hopis have been there since the beginning, they are committed to participating in an adaptive management program to protect the Grand Canyon. The Hopis are obligated to do this out of respect for their ancestors and their pact with *Ma'saw*.

Given their culture and history, the Hopi have a long-term perspective that is essential to good environmental management. As Vernon Masayesva (1993a:4), the Chairman of the Hopi Tribe, testified at the 1993 Western Governor's Conference, "For some, 50-90 years [is a] lifetime. But for a culture, which has, and continues to thrive on the Colorado Plateau for over a thousand years, 50 years is only a moment of time ..."

While he was Chairman of the Hopi Tribe, Vernon Masayesva told the Cooperating Agencies for the Glen Canyon Environment Studies that multi-cultural values need to be emphasized when assessing damage to the Colorado River and the Grand Canyon. In this regard, Masayesva said (Elston 1992:2),

Hopis have a belief that you can't keep taking away from the earth. In return for the benefits received, you must always give something back. If we all accept this philosophy, our world will be a much better place.

Grand Canyon is a good place to start. It is the place of Hopi origin; it is also our destiny.

Ferrell Secakuku, the current Chairman of the Hopi Tribe, has reiterated the perspective articulated by Masayesva. Secakuku reported that on a river trip with officials of the National Park Service and Bureau of Reclamation,⁶⁹⁹

This is what I told them. We need to protect. We are here to protect this earth and this land because we have accepted that covenant from somebody who is higher than we are — we call it *Maasaw*. And we said we would take care of this land as stewards. And that's what we are doing. And that's going to be forever, as long as the Hopis are here, that's what we're going to do. So you cannot bounce us out of this — as far as monitoring, as far as the management is concerned, and all the things. We are going to always be here, this is what we told them.

In 1993, Masayesva explained that the Hopi Tribe wants to take an active role in developing managerial partnerships with the non-Indian world (*Hopi Tutu-veh-ni* 1993a:1-2). The legitimate interests of the Hopi Tribe in this regard have been acknowledged by Federal officials and legislators. For instance at the 3rd Annual Grand Canyon Futures Forum in 1993, the Secretary of the Interior, Bruce Babbitt, said, "Hopis as well as Havasupais and Navajos have many reasons to be involved in planning for the Grand Canyon" (*Hopi Tutu-veh-ni* 1993b:2). Similarly, Arizona Senator John McCain stated, "Indian peoples are tied to the Canyon, and we respect their connection with it ... Of course, they should be part of planning futures" (*Hopi Tutu-veh-ni* 1993b:2).

In Masayesva's opinion (*Hopi Tutu-veh-ni* 1993b:2), "Grand Canyon is more than a place to the Hopis. We have strong and ancient spiritual, cultural, and religious ties to the Canyon ... We are involved as advisors now, but as an Indian tribe we should have the same level of involvement as western state governors." Masayesva (1991a:4) stressed that the Hopi Tribe needs to be actively involved in regional development and management policy decisions so that local environments can be preserved and maintained.

Masayesva elaborated his ideas about why the Hopi Tribe needs to be involved in the management of Colorado River and the Grand Canyon at the Third Inter-American Indigenous Congress on the Environment and Economic Development held in 1993. Masayesva's remarks about "Stewardship and Survival in an Age of Limits" eloquently summarize why the Hopi need to be involved in the management of the Grand Canyon. Masayesva (1993b:3,5) said,

At the time of the Hopi ancestral emergence millennia ago near the confluence of the Colorado and Little Colorado Rivers, in the region of the Grand Canyon, we entered into a covenant with the Keeper of this World to be stewards of the land and caretakers of earth. We must keep the earth alive in order to ensure our own existence. Hopi is more than a culture or a collection of villages -- it is a philosophy, a life-way. We offer solutions to survival in an age of limits, and we extend this knowledge to others who are willing to serve as Earth stewards ...

Responsible management models for the Grand Canyon region ... may provide an answer for the rest of the world. Our region, the original Hopi tutsqua, reflects what

⁶⁹⁹ Ferrell Secakuku, Oral Report to CRATT, August 25, 1994, p. 8.

is happening elsewhere in miniature. The ancestral Hopi were the first people to walk on the Colorado plateau. After our ancestors came the ancestral Paiute, Hualapais, and Havasupais. Then came invading Athabascans, Spanish, and Americans. The most severe impacts came first from introduction of livestock to the tribes by the Europeans, then resulting erosion.

But the most severe impacts occurred in this century -- from the mid-1930s to the present. The Colorado was dammed; extensive coals and uranium mining developed and more and more aliens moved into the House Made of Dawn.

Over three million tourists come to the Grand Canyon and Indian Country every year, and that number is projected to double by the year 2000. Their water needs, the pollution from their cars and their physical impacts create serious problems. Indians and non-Indians alike are dependent on the cash economy—like it or not. But a balance must be developed between responsible management and economic development.

Hopi prophecy maintains that someday the land around our central mesas will be filled with people. It seems that day has come. But we need not despair that the old days are gone. Nothing ever remains the same. Life and nature is not static. Using the symbols of the digging stick as a sign of technology, the gourd full of water as a sign for protection of the essential resource and remembering our obligations as stewards and caretakers, we can proceed into the 21st century. It will take responsibility, diplomacy and cross-cultural skills, but at least today we are sitting down together and talking about collective futures. This is a major improvement over the last five centuries.

We face difficult challenges. But these need not be insurmountable. Let us reach out together and help prepare the future for the coming generations. In the words of an old Hopi prayer, "Let there be life. Let it be a good life. Let it last forever."

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